This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

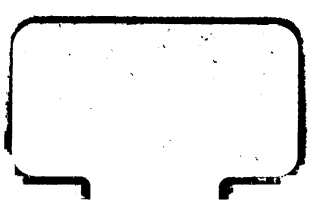
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



Digitized by Google

C 8 D
MUSIC-R
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

1. Ch
2. Ireland — Hist., 1172–1801

Digitized by Google

STRICTURES

UPON AN

HISTORICAL REVIEW

OF THE

STATE OF IRELAND;

BY FRANCIS PLOWDEN, Esq.

OR,

A JUSTIFICATION

OF THE

CONDUCT OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENTS

IN THAT COUNTRY,

FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SECOND

TO

THE UNION

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Veritas claudi et ligari potest, vinci
Non potest———

Hieron. in. Com. in Hierem. proem. in lib. 5.

London:

PRINTED FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON, NO. 62, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD;

By C. Rickaby, Peterborough-court, Fleet-street.

1804.

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
284425B
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
B 1944 L

Digitized by Google

PREFACE.

THE following Strictures upon Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review of the State of Ireland, have already appeared in detached parts in that moſt reſpectable publication the Britiſh Critic. They are now offered to the public with additions, corrections, and an Appendix. The author profeſſes not to give a regular Hiſtory of Ireland, but merely to anſwer Mr. Plowden's publication, which, as it has very imprudently provoked inveſtigation, is alone anſwerable for whatever acrimony may ariſe from the controverſy.

The early part of the Iriſh Hiſtory is little known, as moſt of the works which contain it are very ſcarce, and the tranſactions of our times have been ſo miſrepreſented, and ſuch unwearied diligence is ſtill exerted in miſrepreſenting them, by a party in Ireland, of which it was long ſince obſerved, that whilſt they purſued their plans with all ſteadineſs, they denied matters of fact with all impudence, that I thought it expedient to collect from the beſt authorities a refutation of moſt of the ſtatements contained in Mr. Plowden's work.

I mean no offence to this Gentleman perſonally, by imputing to him any improper deſign by his publication; at the ſame time, I cannot avoid lamenting the miſrepreſentations, which his great ignorance of the Hiſtory of Ireland, his party prejudices, the falſe information furniſhed him, and his aſtoniſhing credulity have betrayed him into; and as he has attacked the Proteſtant party in Ireland and their anceſtors, as well as the Governments of both countries, he cannot be ſurpriſed if they find advocates to defend them. Mr. Plowden has thought proper to publiſh an angry Pamphlet, entitled a Poſtliminious Preface, &c. &c. againſt a ſmall part of this work, in which he has done the writer the honor of abuſing him, in company with ſome of the moſt exalted individuals of the preſent times; it is needleſs to obſerve, that their characters cannot be impeached by any thing that he can write againſt them.

Digitized by Google

As to his aſſertion, that the author of this work was an *hireling* employed to write down his Hiſtory, were it a fact, which in truth it is not, would this circumſtance invalidate the authenticity of Iriſh Hiſtory, or could it injure the reputation of the authorities relied upon in contradiction to Mr. Plowden's ſtatements in his Hiſtorical Review?

I ſhall not attempt to refute another aſſertion in his pamphlet, that the two detached parts of theſe Strictures juſt publiſhed in the Britiſh Critic, contain "falſeties," "acrimonious humour," "pharaſaical rant," "invectives," "illiberal, unmanly criticiſm," &c. &c. &c. as I ſhall leave it to the public to determine what foundation there is for ſuch an accuſation. He has alſo imputed to me publications in the news-papers, which I never wrote; ſuch are his random charges. I have only to add, that calling names and abuſe, are no anſwers to ſtubborn hiſtorical facts; and I beg leave to remind this gentleman of the profeſſional anecdote which he muſt have often heard among the gentlemen of his gown. A countryman once went into Weſtminſter-Hall, whilſt a ſolemn law argument was debating. As he ſeemed to liſten with great patience and attention, he was aſked by one of the Bar if he underſtood the ſubject of diſcuſſion? he replied, that he did not, though he could plainly perceive that the *Counſellor* who was in ſuch a terrible paſſion was loſing his client's cauſe.

☞ As the eſtimation in which any Hiſtory, or the detection of the miſrepreſentations of any Hiſtory will be held by the public, muſt depend upon the authorities produced on both ſides, I have referred my readers in the margin to thoſe works which I have relied upon for my ſtatements, and in many inſtances have been obliged to make quotations at ſome length, which I hope will be an excuſe for the number and length of the notes and references.

London, April, 1804.

STRICTURES,

Digitized by Google

STRICTURES,

&c. &c.

PART THE FIRST.

Ruitfraque; semper
Stat (mirum!) moles—

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

STRICTURES,

&c. &c.

MR. PLOWDEN's ponderous publication is ſo evidently written to ſerve the intereſts of a party, ſo calculated to miſlead the people of England, and to give them erroneous ideas of the various Engliſh adminiſtrations, which during ſix centuries have governed Ireland, and of the cauſes of the conſtant diviſions and diſtractions of that kingdom, that to ſuffer it to remain without notice or animadverſion, were in ſome meaſure to ſanction its miſtatements, and to give implied authority to a work, replete with hiſtorical miſrepreſentations, crowded with undeſerved panegyrics upon one ſect of individuals, and with the moſt unfounded calumnies againſt the living and the dead of another.

Mr. Plowden has thought proper to dignify his book, with the title of "an Hiſtorical Review of the State of Ireland;" while it is in fact nothing more than an intemperate and highly impolitic party-pamphlet, differing only in bulk and price from thoſe caſual publications, which attract notice for a ſhort time, and then ſink into eternal oblivion.

Arduous indeed are the labours, and difficult is the taſk, of a faithful and impartial hiſtorian! The writer who undertakes to give an hiſtory of any particular kingdom, ought previouſly to examine with a cool and deliberate reſearch all the former annaliſts and hiſtorians of different parties, as well as the publications of the day. He ought to poſſeſs a diſcriminating mind, eager in its inquiry after truth. He ſhould be candid, cautious, and temperate. It is his duty to inveſtigate facts minutely, to hazard conjectures with diffidence, and to receive the recriminations of heated parties with diſtruſt. He ſhould be accurate in his ſtatements, candid in his narration of events, and ſomewhat impartial in his reaſonings upon them. But, above all, he ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be guided by preju-

dice,

Digitized by Google

dice, and influenced by the zeal of religious bigotry. Such is the faint outline of the duty, ſuch a few of the indiſpenſable qualifications, of an hiſtorian.

What claim, therefore, can that writer have even to the character of an accurate compiler, much leſs of a faithful hiſtorian, who, in his account of the early tranſactions of Iriſh hiſtory, quotes, and almoſt ſolely relies upon, a few obſcure * writers of one party; and who, in order to eſtabliſh their authenticity, makes the novel and ridiculous attempt, to diſcredit all thoſe former † hiſtorians of Ireland, whoſe works are in the moſt repute, and whoſe accounts of the tranſactions of the times, have been always moſt relied upon?

What opinion are we to form of the prudence of this gentleman, who has thought proper to repreſent the conduct of the Engliſh Governments to that country, as one uniform and continued ſyſtem of oppreſſion and cruelty; who loads with unqualified cenſure and abuſe every adminiſtration which has ever governed Ireland; and who deſcribes all the former Lords-Juſtices, and Viceroys (with the exception only of the Marquis Cornwallis) as knaves or fools, tyrants or hypocrites?

What ſhall we think of the candour of him, who criminates as unjuſtifiable, wanton, and cruel, thoſe meaſures, which one party in Ireland was obliged to adopt for its ſafety, whilſt he palliates, if not juſtifies, the inſurrections and atrocities of the other party, and even goes ſuch lengths as to ſtyle the moſt horrid of their rebellions, a conſcientious adherence to their allegiance, and an unanſwerable proof their loyalty ‡!

---

* O'Flaherty, O'Halloran, Keating, Mr. Joſiah Lynch, a very learned perſon according to Mr. Plowden, whom no body ever heard of: Mr. Pinkerton, Earl of Caſtlehaven, who writes in the teeth of ſome of Mr. Plowden's theories, ſee note to p. 13, of his work; and alſo Appendix, No. III. ſecond Part of theſe Strictures: Saints Jerome, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, &c. &c. Father Taylor, Abbé Geoghegan, and the "Iriſh annaliſts," are his greateſt authorities for his ſtatements of the early part of Iriſh hiſtory, where he does not condeſcend to tranſcribe from Dr. Leland.

† i. e. Cambrenſis, Camden, Sir John Davis, Temple, Spenſer, Borlaſe, Carte, Lord Clarendon, Leland, &c. and the other authentic hiſtorians: where it ſuits Mr. Plowden's purpoſe, he relies upon Dr. Leland; where it does not, he diſcredits, or does not quote him; he is equally candid with Sir John Davis, and others.

‡ See *paſſim*, his account of the Rebellion and Iriſh Maſſacre of 1641.

What

Digitized by Google

What pretentions can that man have to moderation or diſcretion, who vilifies almoſt indiſcriminately the characters of ſo many illuſtrious men of former times, and who caſts the moſt unfounded aſperſions upon ſome of the moſt reſpectable and exalted individuals of the preſent? what claim can the author have to our confidence, who, through the whole courſe of his early hiſtory, ſo ſtudiouſly conceals, and boldly denies, the ſavage exceſſes of the rebellious natives of Ireland, that he may pathetically deſcribe and lament their ſufferings; at the ſame time that he depicts in ſuch falſe colours the neceſſary exertions of power, the indiſpenſable meaſures of ſelf-preſervation?

What reliance can we place upon the accuracy of the hiſtorian, who, in his account of a * recent and memorable event, gives the exaggerated accuſations and ſtatements of ſubjects in rebellion againſt the ſtate, as correct, whilſt he confidently denies the truth of official documents, and the accuracy of parliamentary reports †? And, laſtly, can we without a ſmile demand, what pretenſions Mr. Plowden can have to impartiality, who, throughout every line of his work, evidently appears the advocate and apologiſt of the Catholic, and the enemy and accuſer of the Proteſtant party in Ireland; who has not only magnified the ſeverities and exceſſes committed by the loyaliſts and their anceſtors during violent and atrocious rebellions, (exceſſes perhaps inſeparable from all civil wars) but has charged the preſent generation with enormities of which they are incapable, and the foul imputation of which they repel with ſcorn: enormities which were committed by the inſurgents, and which are unexampled in the hiſtory of any countries, except "Catholic Ireland" and Republican France?

Though Mr. Plowden therefore may be eſteemed (as no doubt he is) by one claſs of individuals, a very daring and zealous partizan; I truſt he will never be conſidered by the public in either country, as a faithful or impartial hiſtorian of Ireland.

Very general is the ignorance which even at this day prevails in England, of the true ſtate of that country. Ireland is ſcarcely known but by its factions and rebellions. Active have been the exertions, and not altogether unſucceſsful the induſtry,

---

* The rebellion of 1798.

† Arthur O'Connor's letter to Lord Caſtlereagh is relied upon by Mr. Plowden, while the "Report of the Secret Committee of Parliament" is diſcredited by him! the Official Bulletins, &c. &c. are treated with equal reſpect!

of

Digitized by Google

of the rebel-party, their abettors, and palliators, to deceive the people of England, by repreſenting as unneceſſary and unjuſt, thoſe meaſures which the machinations of treaſon rendered indiſpenſable, in order thus to fix the ſtigma of provocation upon the Government and the Proteſtant gentry of Ireland.

The Britiſh nation, ignorant of the ſpirit of bigotry, the hoſtile prejudices, and the political treachery of the lower, and unfortunately not alone of the lower, orders of Iriſh Catholics, perplexed and alarmed by the conſtant diſcontents and diſturbances in Ireland, and unacquainted with the peculiar difficulties with which the Iriſh governments have always to ſtruggle, are but too apt in conſequence to be perſuaded, that the uniform reſiſtance to the laws, and the rebellions of that country, are produced by mal-adminiſtration, or provoked by the oppreſſion of the higher orders of ſociety. Hence it is, that various communications, written by the diſaffected party in Ireland, and containing the moſt glaring falſehoods, have received a ready inſertion in the periodical, and particularly in the provincial, prints in England. Theſe publications, though deſpiſed in one country, as the ebullitions of diſappointed treaſon, have been received in the other as truths, and have greatly influenced public opinion in Great Britain; which was indeed the very object for which they were fabricated and publiſhed.

Sir Richard Muſgrave's Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion of 1798 at length, in ſome meaſure, opened the eyes of the Britiſh nation. His minute detail of the enormities committed *before*, as well as during its progreſs, fortified as it is by ſuch an irreſiſtible body of evidence upon oath, and authenticated by the teſtimony of thoſe officers and gentlemen who were eye-witneſſes of many of the horrid tranſactions, has at laſt given the people of England more juſt conceptions of the deſigns and conduct of the Iriſh rebels; and the vain, but malicious efforts, which have been made by the diſaffected party to diſcredit Sir Richard Muſgrave's work, have more fully eſtabliſhed its authenticity in the opinion of the more eſtimable part of the Iriſh community.

The loyaliſts of Ireland, as generous as they are brave, upon the peace with France ſheathed their ſwords; and, though they could not forget, had forgiven the injuries which they had received from their Catholic brethren; and harmony and confidence were, in a great meaſure, reſtored in that unfortunate country. At ſuch an unpropitious moment, another Catholic champion imprudently ſtands forth, and throws down the gauntlet of religious and political controverſy.

In my Strictures upon his publication, which is conſidered by a great part of the Iriſh as a libel upon the loyalty of Ire-

Digitized by Google

land, I ſhall avoid caſting any perſonal reflections upon the writer, however authorized I might feel myſelf, by his example, to purſue a different line of conduct. His object in publiſhing ſuch a work, at ſuch a time, is beſt known to himſelf. Whatever may have been the motives, I feel it my duty to endeavour to counteract the miſchief that may ariſe from the publication, ſhould its ſtatements remain uncontradicted. I do not therefore attack Mr. Plowden, but his book, which he has confidently ſubmitted to the public, with his name and *his portrait* affixed to it. He has ſent it into the world, "with all its imperfections on its head;" and before the tribunal of public opinion I ſhall very freely and boldly arraign it.

The work is dedicated to the Prince of Wales. This Dedication concludes without any of the uſual ceremonies of reſpect to ſo exalted a perſonage. The writer plainly intimates to his Royal Highneſs, that to his reign*, Ireland, i. e. the Catholic part of it, eagerly looks forward for the removal of thoſe political reſtraints which only affect a very few of the upper claſs of that perſuaſion†.

The Introductory Chapter of this work, the writer profeſſes to be a review of the ſtate of Ireland previous to its invaſion or conqueſt in the reign of Henry II. and he declares his object to be, "to draw the attention of his reader to ſuch prominent events as have, in their time, order, and proportion, remotely and proximately led to an incorporate union of Great Britain with Ireland; which is the primary object of this publication." For this purpoſe, *no doubt*, it was, that ſo early as in his fifth page, he draws the attention of his reader to the Letter of Colonel Littlehales‡, relative to Sir Richard Muſgrave's Dedication to the Marquis Cornwallis, of his highly eſteemed and accurate Hiſtory of the Rebellion of 1798; wherein the Colonel expreſſes his Excellency's "wiſh, that in any future edition, the permiſſion to dedicate it to him may be omitted;" "becauſe the nature and contents of the work tend ſo ſtrong-

---

* In a pamphlet publiſhed in Dublin, in Auguſt, 1803, entitled "An Iriſh Catholic's Advice to his Brethren, how to eſtimate their preſent Condition; and to repel Civil Wars, Slavery, and Invaſion; by Denys Scully, Eſq. Barriſter at Law," is the following paragraph. —"We (the Catholics) ſee an enlightened Prince beckoning us to the ſtandard of *genuine* loyalty, and drawing leſſons of future policy from our patron, the gallant and patriotic Moira." P. 99.

† An Iriſh wit, who has anſwered Mr. Scully's work, has obſerved, that "if an epitome of the above ſentiments were rendered into French, it muſt be confeſſed that *Vive le Roi!* would not be the tranſlation."

‡ See note to p. 5. vol. i. Hiſtorical Review.

ly

Digitized by Google

ly to revive the dreadful animoſities which have ſo long diſtracted that country, and which it is the duty of every good ſubject to compoſe*.

Now, as Sir Richard Muſgrave's work does not contain any account of the early hiſtory of Ireland, but is ſolely confined to tracing the origin and progreſs of a late ſavage rebellion, it appears to my comprehenſion a little *out of order*, to attempt to diſcredit it *in limine:* if the object be to injure its reputation with thoſe who are beſt acquainted with *modern* Iriſh hiſtory, I apprehend it will be very unſucceſsful; or, if this Letter has been noticed in this part of the work through *inadvertence*, it is only one proof, among many others in this compoſition, of the total want of proper claſſification and chronological arrangement.

Mr. Plowden's character of the temper and genius of the old native Iriſh, as well as thoſe deſcriptions of that people which he quotes from Sir John Davis and Dr. Leland, are, alas! but too accurate†.

" Nor have (anglicè has) the wideſt variety of changes in the political ſyſtem of government altered or ſubdued, much leſs wholly extinguiſhed, the national genius, ſpirit, and character"

of their deſcendants. The ſame‡ " ardent reſentments, deſperate and vindictive outrages (ſtill) abound in their annals§." " The miniſters of their religion are accounted more than human‖." " Private injuries are avenged by force, and inſolent ambitious chieftains ſtill recur to arms." This propenſity ſtill exiſts in all its force, with only one ſtriking difference; that in early times, they eagerly flocked to the ſtandard of ſome prince or chieftain; of late years, any deſperate adventurer, a lawyer, a bricklayer, or a carpenter, calls his blood-thirſty followers to arms¶.

---

* This accuſation certainly applies with much more ſtrength to the work before us than to Sir Richard Muſgrave's, which attacks the Catholic *rebels* of his time only. This work attacks every Engliſh adminiſtration, as well as the Proteſtants of Ireland and their anceſtors, from the earlieſt period of Iriſh hiſtory, down to the year of the Union. If, therefore, we might venture to reckon upon conſequences, we ſhould augur ſomething about the future fate of Mr. P.'s Dedication.

† Page 3. ‡ Page 5. § Ibid.

‖ That *hero*, Father Murphy, at the battle of Arklow (1798) where he was the General, perſuaded his troops that he was invulnerable, and could catch the heretic bullets, as they flew, in his hand. Under this impreſſion, they fought deſperately until he was killed, when they all fled.

¶ In 1798, Counſellors Emmet, Sampſon, &c. &c. and, in 1803, Quigly, Howel, M'Intoſh, and other mechanics.

I admit

Digitized by Google

I admit alſo, in a great meaſure, the extent of Mr. Plowden's obſervation,

" that more family pride is retained by the Iriſh, even in extreme indigence, than by any other nation; and it is generally attended with a conviction of ſome right to large poſſeſſions; and ſeldom exiſts without ſome hereditary tincture of contempt for thoſe, whoſe lineage they think leſs ancient and noble than their own, although at the ſame time no nation *attach* more conſequence to property*."

The exiſtence of this pride of anceſtry I do not deny; but Mr. Plowden's foundation for it I ſhall hereafter diſprove. That this pride is " generally attended with a conviction of ſome right to large poſſeſſions," is unfortunately as deſcriptive of the preſent as of the former race of the native Iriſh: and until very lately, a regular liſt of the names of the ancient proprietors of lands, and of the various hands through which they have paſſed, was kept in one of the Roman Catholic chapels in the City of Dublin†: and a reſumption of ancient poſſeſſions forfeited by treaſon and rebellions was *formerly* a very favourite expectation among one claſs of individuals in that country: even ſo lately as the year 1798, an *equitable* diviſion of lands was the hope held out by the chief conſpirators to the lower orders, which they fondly expected would have been realized; and which never would have been held out to them, if it were not a very general and exiſting expectation. Mr. Plowden indeed aſſerts, that

" This general ſpecies of *gregarian*‡ reſumption, grafted upon the collective claims of ſepts or clans to certain diſtricts, will upon cloſe inſpection and impartial inveſtigation, be found to refer to the old tenures of *Tannifiry* and *Gavelkind*, and by no means to the laws of England, which have for centuries regulated the deſcent of lands in Ireland, otherwiſe the reſumption would be confined to the individuals, upon whom the law would in the ſuppoſed caſes of reſumption caſt the inheritance, either by primogeniture or by ſome other mode of deſcent. Now the only cry for reſumption is ever ſuppoſed to ariſe from that *caſt of the natives*, who have retained that national ſpirit, with the de-

* Page 6. The Iriſh Proteſtant gentry complain, that now, A. D. 1803, the lower orders pay no reſpect to property. In the country, even the cuſtom of ſaluting with the hat a gentleman as he paſſes is almoſt wholly diſcontinued.

† In the chapel of Cook-Street, and as it *is now ſaid* to have been removed to the Royal College of Maynooth; perhaps it may be ſtill continued from motives of *curioſity or ſcience!*

‡ Qu. Does not the author mean *Agrarian?* We have no ſuch word as *gregarian*, though there is *gregarious*.

luſive

lusive claims of royalty and domain, which could *alone** be realized by the redintegration of the old Brehon institutions." P. 12.

That an English lawyer should be so ignorant of the state of that country, of which he professes to give an Historical Review, as to compose and publish so ridiculous a paragraph, must certainly excite among his brethren of the Irish bar, other emotions beside those of surprise! Surely a gentleman who has thrice † visited Ireland so lately, might have learned, that no such "cast of natives" as he describes, now exists: did this writer suppose, that Mr. Arthur O'Connor (whom I believe to be descended from a King of Connaught of that name) had in that province a large clan of "that cast who retained those delusive claims of royalty and domain," and whom he had undertaken to gratify by "resumption," and "the redintegration of the old Brehon institutions"? Mr. A. O'Connor did certainly declare to a friend of mine, who met him on the continent immediately after the peace, "that he had framed one of the most admirable constitutions for Ireland that was ever composed, and which must have pleased all parties"; but as my friend had neither inclination or ability to understand its merits, he has not been able to detail the particulars of this master-piece; and therefore I am still ignorant, whether "resumption" or "redintegration" formed any part of it. I do indeed *suspect*, that the Irish of this day care as little for, and understand as little of "redintegration," as they did of general emancipation and parliamentary reform. But undoubtedly if "resumption" was no part of that great legislator, Mr. Arthur O'Connor's plan, he would not only have miserably disappointed that "cast of natives" (wherever they are to be found) but the whole body of his followers, to whom such expectations were held out, and who firmly believed that they would, upon the success of the revolution, have been substantially fulfilled. Bold, as most of the assertions in Mr. Plowden's work are, he does not pretend to deny the existence of this "cry for resumption," but very ingeniously traces it to a class of natives, which at present no where exists, and to the principles of the *Brehon* institutions, and of *Tannistry* and *Gavelkind*, of which, not only the mass of the Irish people, but very many of the learned professions, know as little as they do of the doctrines of Confucius.

---

* Could not they be also realized by a revolution, and a separation from England? The Irish Rebels think they could.

† Page 5.

I shall

Digitized by Google

I ſhall trace it for the information of this author, as well as of his and my *Engliſh* readers, to its true ſource*; to the total ignorance of the lower orders of the Iriſh, and their utter averſion from all legal ſyſtems of reſtraints; to the floating traditions that their anceſtors were diſpoſſeſſed of their lands by Engliſh and Scotch ſettlers; and to their exiſting religious prejudices againſt the preſent Proteſtant poſſeſſors, whether they derive their titles under recent purchaſe, or from ancient deſcent†. Nor am I quite ſo ſanguine as Mr. Plowden in my expectations, "that the union of the two kingdoms, by the natural *workings* of the Britiſh conſtitution, will go further in three years towards the deſtruction of national prejudice and diſaffection, than a mere communication of laws did in three centuries‡!"

"The pride of anceſtry has a peculiar effect upon the Iriſh,"—and upon Mr. Plowden. "No nation," ſays this gentleman, "in fact, now upon the face of the globe, can boaſt of ſuch certain and remote antiquity; none can trace inſtances of ſuch early civilization; none poſſeſs ſuch irrefragable proofs of their origin, lineage, and duration of government"§.

---

* The levelling ſyſtem of Jacobiniſm has given new vigour to theſe ancient and rooted prejudices; and the war with France is looked upon as a favourable opportunity for reducing them to practice.

† The following Manifeſto, which on Sunday the 7th of Auguſt, 1803, was paſted upon the doors of the church of St. Werbergs, in Dublin, the pariſh church of the Lord-Lieutenants of Ireland, may not be here ſo much miſplaced, as Colonel Littlehales's Letter to Sir R. Muſgrave ſeems to be in Mr. Plowden's work, p. 5.

"CATHOLIC VERTUE.

"We acknowledge, that there now does exiſt among the people throughout this country, a determination to poſſeſs themſelves of, and to transfer to their poſterity, their ancient rights and properties; namely, the eſtates, lands, and church livings, which the abominable ſcum of England have, from time to time, plundered them of, and which are now applied to *heretical purpoſes*, in order to aboliſh Catholic faith; but, let a *wretched government* beware, how they tamper with *the religion of the people.*

Orange divines and their followers* are ripe, and it is high time to ſqueeze them."

To what "caſt of natives" are we to attribute this "cry for reſumption"? And is there any of that "Paganiſm" in it, which in p. 12, Mr. Plowden aſſigns as "the genuine cauſe of theſe national prejudices"?

‡ Page 17. § Page 6.

* All Proteſtants are now called, by the lower order of Catholics, Orangemen; *their* anceſtors called the Engliſh and their deſcendents, "Sackſonach," i.e. Saxon. See Ware, p. 60.

In

Digitized by Google

In ſupport of this poſition, Mr. Plowden confidently aſſerts, that a colony of Carthaginians, three thouſand years ago, ſettled in Ireland, and peopled that country: and this he very ſatisfactorily proves to his readers, by * the famous ſcene in Plautus, which had puzzled all former commentators, but which lately an Iriſh antiquary, Gen. Vallancy, by "a diſlocation of the words and ſyllables," converted into *good Iriſh*. This diſcovery will not be allowed by Engliſh critics to have all the force that Mr. P. attributes to it; and if it had, it would equally include the people ſpeaking Welſh and Erſe, undoubted branches from the ſame root with the Iriſh; very ſimilar dialects of the ſame original tongue.

Moreover this "pride of anceſtry" is not excluſively confined to the Iriſh people, but the early annals and traditions of all nations are full of ſuch abſurd and popular fictions. The Peruvians derived their origin from the ſun; and the Chineſe antiquaries boaſt, that their empire has exiſted from a period which, according to our calculation, muſt have preceded the creation of the world †! Let us, therefore, here rely rather upon the conjectures of David Hume, than upon the aſſertions of Mr. Plowden. That hiſtorian ſays, "as Britain was firſt peopled from Gaul, ſo was Ireland probably from Britain‡. and Sir James Ware, the beſt of the Iriſh antiquarians, is not only of the opinion that Ireland was firſt peopled from North Britain, but thinks the Iriſh language evidently the ſame with the Britiſh, and gives a liſt of many hundred words of both languages, which appear to be the ſame from their pronunciation. Chap. 3. p. 36.

---

* In Mungo Park's Travels into Africa, he informs us, that the Africans kneaded up flour into a kind of cake, which they called Kous Kous. I am informed that the Welſh word for bread is alſo Kous: perhaps, after all, the original Welſh may have been a colony from the interior of Africa; and that a near affinity between their language and the African may be diſcovered by ſome Welſh antiquary, on conſulting the gloſſary at the end of Park's Travels, with the help of "diſlocation."

† Eight thouſand years.

‡ Vol. i. chap. 9; and Scoti, the ancient name of the Iriſh, approaches *nearer* to Scotz, the ancient name of the Scots, whoſe kingdom was called Scotia, than to Skuthoi Scythians, alias Carthaginians. We may therefore ſay of this writer, as Spencer has ſaid of Stanihurſt, "but his Scota rather comes of the Greek σκυτος", that is, *darkneſs*, which hath not let him ſee the light of the truth.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Plowden's account of "the early civilization" of the Iriſh people, and his ſplendid picture of the Mileſian monarchy, however gratifying to "the pride of anceſtry," are little ſatisfactory to the reſearches of a cool and unbiaſſed underſtanding. (Appendix, No. I.) When the Engliſh adventurers in the twelfth century firſt landed in Ireland, they found no traces of this early refinement and advanced progreſs in all the elegant arts of life*. Nay, the circumſtance which led to the Engliſh invaſion, namely, a rape, committed by one King on the wife of another; and the reception which this raviſher met, on his return with his allies, not only from the common people, but, by Mr. Plowden's own account, from the nobles and *the clergy*†, affords no very ſatisfactory proof of morality, much leſs of civilization. Directly contraſted to his accounts, are the ſober ſtatements of Hume, and the deciſive authorities cited in his margin; all ſhowing the barbarous ſtate in which the native Iriſh were found by the firſt adventurers from England.

---

* See page 15. Mr. Plowden's account of their national aſſemblies, feaſts, tournaments, *their progreſs in heraldry*, &c. &c.

Dr. Leland, in his Preliminary Diſcourſe to his Hiſtory of Ireland, calls ſuch accounts "childiſh fables," "poetical annals," &c.

Mr. Plowden, in his "Poſtliminious Preface," has attempted to invalidate Dr. Leland's reputation as an hiſtorian. Amongſt other charges againſt the Doctor, who was a ſenior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, is one, "that he *wrote* his Hiſtory for a biſhopric, which he never attained." I have been informed, that when Dr. Leland's Hiſtory appeared, the Proteſtant party in Ireland was ſo diſpleaſed at ſeveral parts of his work, more favourable to the Iriſh Catholics than they thought they deſerved, that Dr. Leland was called "*a Papiſt in his heart*," and a calumny was propagated that the *Papiſts* had paid him 1500l. for gloſſing ſome facts in his Hiſtory.

Now, in my humble opinion, ſince it appears that Dr. Leland's Hiſtory pleaſed neither parties, it is highly probable that he told truth of both. Beſides, he was a man of the moſt reſpectable character.

As to Mr. Plowden's *hearſay evidence* of ſome of Mr. Burke's intimate friends, that Dr. Leland refuſed to make uſe of "documents," furniſhed him by Mr. Burke, "relative to the *Proteſtant maſſacre* (i. e. maſſacre of the Proteſtants) which would have given a very different caſt to the complexion of that "*ſuppoſed event*," as Dr. Leland had the beſt hiſtorians and the public documents to refer to, it is no impeachment of his good ſenſe that he ſhould prefer thoſe to "Mr. Burke's documents;" and as to his refuſing to return Mr. Burke his papers, I really cannot for a moment give that credit to this charge which Mr. Plowden does.

† Page 29, chap. 2.

Digitized by Google

The laws (if they deſerve ſuch a name) under which the original Iriſh lived (Appendix No. II and No. III.), the cuſtom of Tanniſtry which made their chieftains elective, and of Gavelkind, which upon the death of one individual in a family, put the poſſeſſions, real and perſonal, of the whole ſept, as well as of the deceaſed, into what our lawyers call *hotch-pot*, to be equally divided among all the members of the clan, illegitimate as well as legitimate; and the Brehon inſtitutions, which commuted the crime of murder for a pecuniary fine; called the Eirick, could only ſubſiſt among a very barbarous people; and by their abolition alone could the firſt advances towards civilization be made.

As to the orthodoxy of the Roman Catholic faith of the aboriginal Iriſh*, upon which Mr. Plowden ſo much inſiſts, I muſt once more have recourſe to Hume, to correct this gentleman's miſtakes. "The Iriſh had, by precedent miſſions from Britain, been imperfectly converted to Chriſtianity: and, what the Pope (Adrian III.) regarded as the ſureſt mark of their imperfect converſion, they followed the doctrines of their firſt teachers, and had never acknowledged any ſubjection to the ſee of Rome†." Accordingly, A. D. 1156, Adrian III. iſſued, in favour of Henry II. a bull, in which he exhorts that prince to invade Ireland, "in order to extirpate the vice and wickedneſs of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly, from every houſe, a penny to the ſee of Rome."

---

* Mr. P.* in his learned note to page 19, inſiſts, that the faith preached by St. Patrick is that now denominated "the Roman Catholic faith." Does he alſo mean, that the tenets are the ſame? If ſuch a miſſionary as St. Patrick ever exiſted, he muſt have preached a ſyſtem of Chriſtianity more ſimple than that which the labours of artful prieſts and ambitious pontiffs have ſince diſſeminated.

Mr. P. ſeems alſo to entertain with reſpect the popular opinion, that to the prayers of St. Patrick it was owing, that vipers, toads, ſnakes, &c. "which formerly abounded," took their departure from the land of ſaints, in whoſe climate I conceive they could never have exiſted on account of its great moiſture. Various patriotic efforts have, ſince St. Patrick's time, been made to introduce them; but they have died in the winter. A Fellow of the Univerſity in Dublin, at the end of the ſeventeenth century, brought over to Ireland a colony of frogs, which have thriven very well, and are now to be found in all parts of that kingdom.

† Hume, vol. i. chap. 9.

* Sir James Ware, the beſt of the Iriſh antiquaries, ſpeaks with high contempt of the Iriſh, before they were converted to Chriſtianity by St. Patrick, a *Scotchman*, who died in 493, A.D.

On

Digitized by Google

On the whole, therefore, I feel warranted in asserting, in contradiction to Mr. Plowden, that the native Irish were indebted, for the rudiments of civilization and *religion*, to their English invaders.

I shall not make any remarks upon the account copied from Sir J. Davis, of the excellent ports, havens, and fisheries of Ireland, and "of the minds and bodies of the people endued with extraordinary ability of nature*," or upon those assertions made by Mr. Plowden himself, "of the long infelicity of Ireland since it has been dependent on, or connected with, this country." P. 10. "When we consider," he says, "that since Ireland has become connected with, or rather subject to, England, it has ceased to perform the part of a nation, on the political theatre of the *universe* (i. e. the world, *Gallicè*,) we bring our minds with difficulty to believe the accounts of her leading eminence on that theatre, before such connection or subjection took place." P. 20. "This state of pre-eminence, which Ireland so long enjoyed amidst the nations of Europe, shows to what a degree of consequence she is capable of rising, when her native energies and powers are not cramped by internal divisions, or damped by *foreign* power, oppression, and rigour.†" How such topics of investigation can consolidate the connection of the two countries, or conciliate the Irish political theorists to the Union, "the object of Mr. Plowden's publication," is beyond my capacity to discover. To my plain judgment it appears, that if any inference is drawn from these paragraphs, it may be one calculated to excite ideas of separation; and that the consequences might be, "to stimulate that people to emulate their pristine glory." P. 22.

It were endless as well as disgusting to follow this work through its details of the early petty broils of a barbarous province; the incidents of which, compiled from a selection of the Irish monkish annalists (a class of writers little qualified to

---

* Page 3.

† P. 22. And all this is addressed to a nation which Mr. P. acknowledges to be "Credulitate levis, gloriæ avida, contumeliæ et injuriæ impatiens, et ut inquit ille (Camden) in omnes actus vehementissima." That poor enthusiast, Robert Emmet, called upon his countrymen to take their station among nations; and gave, in his proclamation, a much more feeble outline than this work of the grievances of six hundred years; but the Irish who had any sense or reflection laughed at the composition.

Let me, however, once for all, be understood as making no reflection on Mr. Plowden personally, or imputing to him designs or motives unfairly. My observations are confined to his work, and to the inferences which *some* of his Irish readers might draw from it.

Digitized by Google

view the ſubject with an impartial eye) are therein recorded with a moſt fatiguing minuteneſs.

A handful of Engliſh, or rather Welſh troops, amounting to the number of thirty Knights, ſixty men in armour, and three hundred archers*, commanded by an adventurer of the name of Fitz-Stephens, came over as auxiliaries to reſtore the exiled petty prince Dermod; and ſhared the good fortune of moſt allies, by becoming maſters of the country. That this ſmall party of ſtrangers, and thoſe who followed them, ſurrounded by ſavage and hoſtile nations, did exerciſe great acts of ſeverity, is highly probable; but to the neceſſity of ſelf-preſervation, and the rude manners of the time, are theſe ſeverities to be imputed, and not to any deliberate ſyſtem of tyranny or cruelty, as this work inſinuates. Wanton barbarity has never been, at any period, the characteriſtic feature of the Engliſh nation; and that a gentleman, poſſeſſing the proud and generous feelings of our countrymen, ſhould give credit to the falſehoods of bigoted Iriſh annaliſts againſt our anceſtors, is as aſtoniſhing as it is prepoſterous. Nay, he himſelf furniſhes an unanſwerable argument againſt his favourite poſition. "So deeply rooted," ſays he, "in the Iriſh nation was the ſpirit of irritation and reſentment (among themſelves) that no public calamities, oppreſſions, or misfortunes could prevent their chieftains, lords, and petty ſovereigns from continual feuds and wars with each other†." Now if the tyranny and cruelties of the Engliſh to the natives were ſo exceſſive and intolerable as he repreſents, is it not probable that the Iriſh would, for a time at leaſt, have forgotten their mutual reſentments, and united againſt their oppreſſors, the paucity of whoſe numbers muſt have made them an eaſy prey to an enraged and inſulted people? But, on the contrary, we find it to be a conſtant complaint with the early Engliſh rulers, that their ſettlers went over to the Iriſh, were well received by them, and adopted their degenerate manners and cuſtoms. If the oppreſſions which the natives ſuffered from the Engliſh government were ſo intolerable, would theſe coloniſts have ſo willingly ſubjected themſelves to ſuch dreadful ſeverities? If the inhabitants without the pale were, as he ſtates, put to death without law or juſtice, where was the neceſſity of making a law,

* This was their number, according to Leland. Mr. Plowden, at a *rough gueſs*, ſays, that with their allies they were three thouſand men. I ſhall have many opportunities, during the courſe of theſe Strictures, of correcting his "falſe returns" of the number of the forces, &c. &c.

† And yet this is the people that he ſuppoſes would, "if they had not been damped by *foreign* power, &c. have made ſuch a figure "on the political theatre of the univerſe." P. 39.

to

Digitized by Google

to ſubject to the penalties of treaſon thoſe who went over to them, and who, by adopting their cuſtoms, became, to all intents and purpoſes, Iriſh? At this day, we treat deſerters *with leſs ceremony*. The preſumption therefore is, that there was a mutual intercourſe of good offices between the ſettlers and the natives, by which numbers of the former were induced to go over to them, and take a part in their predatory wars; and that therefore the government, for the preſervation of the colony, was obliged, by a ſevere law, to reſtrain the practice.

As to Mr. Plowden's philippic againſt "Coigne and Livery*," the Engliſh cannot boaſt the honour of this invention, it having been a very ancient Iriſh cuſtom, exiſting long before the Engliſh arrived; and which the coloniſts adopted, "becauſe," ſays Leland, "it was pointed out by urgent occaſion:" and how far it was grievous to a people who had themſelves practiſed it from early times, we are little competent at this day to determine. Of its pernicious effects upon agriculture and induſtry, there can be little doubt; and therefore Sir J. Davis, with great reaſon, reprobated the practice; and the Engliſh government, which, according to Mr. Plowden, threw ſuch obſtacles in the way of Iriſh civilization, after various efforts to repreſs it, at length finally aboliſhed it, by an Act of Parliament which made it felony.

I freely admit that the Engliſh government did keep its enemies, the turbulent Iriſh, in ſubjection; and I ſhall account for their conduct, by Mr. Plowden's own ſtatement of the neceſſity of their meaſures. "The ſubmiſſion of the Iriſh," he admits, "was often abject, always precarious and occaſional; it never laſted longer than whilſt the Engliſh forces commanded a decided ſuperiority." (Appendix, No. V. No. VI.) Even now, notwithſtanding Mr. P.'s very ſanguine expectations of the miraculous *triennial* effects of the Union with Great Britain; in my opinion (and I ſpeak on the authority of thoſe who have

---

* The firſt law in the Iriſh Statute Book is the 3rd of Edward II. A.D. 1310, prohibiting the great Iriſh Lords from taking "priſes, and from lodging and ſojourning againſt the will of the owner, and declaring the cuſtom to be robbery, and to be puniſhed as ſuch." The 28th of Henry VI. made it felony.*

Do not the French, in this enlightened century, ſupport their armies at the expence of the countries in which they campaign? And is not this the ſame as Coigne and Livery?

* The old Iriſh name for this cuſtom was *Bonaught*, in the reign of Edward II. Maurice Fitz Thomas the ſecond degenerate Earl of Deſmond (his anceſtor having been the firſt to take part with the Iriſh againſt his countrymen) revived this practice under the new name of *Coigne* and *Livery*. Story's Wars of Ireland, p. 308.

paſſed

Digitized by Google

paſſed more of their time in Ireland, and know the country and people better) whenever the forces in that kingdom ceaſe to command a decided ſuperiority, its ſubmiſſion to the government will be equally occaſional and precarious*.

Before I follow Mr. Plowden's work to the reign of Henry VIII.† I muſt detain my readers with a few obſervations upon the tranſactions of a reign, which he has *inadvertently* omitted, but which furniſhes, to my underſtanding, a refutation of his aſſertion of four hundred years of uninterrupted Engliſh oppreſſion.

The reign I allude to is that of Henry VII. and the tranſaction the impoſture of Simnel, who pretended to be the Earl of Warwick, the York-heir to the crown, whom Henry kept in confinement. This conſpiracy againſt him, it is well known, was principally contrived by Margaret, Ducheſs of Burgundy, ſiſter of Edward IV. and her object was, by raiſing an inſurrection to overthrow the government of Henry; after which, ſhe conceived the impoſtor could be eaſily ſet aſide. Margaret, Simon the prieſt, and the other contrivers, were, however, well aware, that the impoſture could not bear a cloſe inſpection; it was therefore determined to make Ireland the ſcene of action. The pretended Earl of Warwick accordingly landed in Ireland.

"That iſland," ſays the hiſtorian‡, "was zealouſly attached to the houſe of York," (on account, no doubt, of its uniform oppreſſion,) "and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had been their Lieutenant," (and whoſe adminiſtration was of courſe ſo tyrannical,) not only the chiefs, nobles, clergy, &c. received the impoſtor with open arms, but, adds the hiſtorian, "in proportion as the ſtory diffuſed itſelf among thoſe of the lower orders, it became the object of ſtill greater paſſion and credulity; till the people of Dublin, with one conſent, yielded their allegiance to Simnel, as the true Plantagenet. The whole iſland followed the example of the capital, and not a ſword was any where drawn in Henry's quarrel."

---

* I ſpeak not here of the Proteſtants and Preſbyterians of Ireland, who (with the exception only of a few Deiſts, who once were of one or the other of theſe communions) are truly "worthy to be brethren of Britons," and are the chief ſupport of Engliſh connection.

† He has paſſed over the reigns of Richard I. John, Henry III. Edwards I. II. III. Richard II. Henrys IV. V. VI. Edwards IV. V. Henry VII. Were there no excellent laws made during theſe reigns to reclaim the Iriſh, to introduce induſtry, trade, civilization? See the Iriſh Statute Book, and Appendix, No. IV.

‡ Hume, Henry VII. He quotes as his authority, Pol. Virgil, and Bacon; and Dr. Leland gives the ſame account of the devotion of the Iriſh to the houſe of York; and quotes Ware, Hall, Rymer, Bacon, and MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin.

The

Digitized by Google

The ſubſequent invaſion of England, by Simnel and his Iriſh adherents, and their defeat at Stoke, are well known. Now, that a people, which had been ſo cruelly oppreſſed during the reigns of ſo many princes of the houſe of York, ſhould take ſo very active a part in favour of one, whom they believed to be a prince of that houſe; and that the independent Iriſh chieftains (of which there were many ſtill very powerful in that country) ſhould have ſome embarked in this cauſe, and the reſt have declined taking advantage of the abſence of ſo many of their oppreſſors, to drive the remainder of their tyrants out of the country, ſeems to me irreconcileable to thoſe feelings of reſentment which, in all ages, the oppreſſed have entertained againſt their oppreſſors.

I follow this work to the reign of Henry VIII. whoſe government in Ireland it repreſents as one continued ſyſtem of inſult and tyranny. I ſhall not become Henry's panegyriſt: that prince had undoubtedly great faults and great vices; ſome allowance ought, however, to be made for the rude manners of the time, and ſome deductions from the numerous accuſations of his Catholic hiſtorians. A monarch who made ſo great an innovation in the religion of his country, and ſo formidable an attack upon the poſſeſſions of its miniſters, muſt of courſe have had very vindictive adverſaries among thoſe who ſtill adhered to the Catholic faith. He happily eſtabliſhed the reformed religion in England; and, however objectionable his object or his means may have been, he was ſupported by his people in that reformation, which was the parent of our liberties, and the ultimate cauſe of our preſent ſtate of eminence among the nations of the world. Henry attempted to force the Reformation in Ireland, unhappily with leſs ſucceſs; it gained ground, however, by degrees, in ſpite of the violent oppoſition of its implacable enemies; and its followers have ever been, and ſtill continue, the only ſtaunch friends of England in that country.

That a reformation of religion was neceſſary in Ireland at that period, the account given by Mr. Plowden of the Iriſh clergy (which he has copied from Archbiſhop Brown, the truth of whoſe ſtatement he does not pretend to contradict) moſt ſatisfactorily proves.

"He (Brown) repreſented the melancholy ſituation of eccleſiaſtical affairs in Ireland; the extreme ignorance of the clergy, incapable of performing even the common offices, and utter ſtrangers even to the language in which they celebrate their maſs; and the furious zeal of the people, whoſe blind attachment to the ſee of Rome was as determined as the conſtancy of the moſt enlightened martyrs." P. 53.

Such was the ſtate of eccleſiaſtical affairs in that country, when

Digitized by Google

when the Iriſh Parliament (or Parliament of the Pale) A. D. 1536, was aſſembled*. That aſſembly, according to Leland, "left to the diſcretion of their own loyal zeal, proceeded not merely to provide for the internal regulation and local neceſſities of the Pale, but to decide on points equally pertaining to the realm of England and to the land of Ireland (appending and belonging to the Imperial Crown of that realm) and to the unity, peace, and wealth of both lands." This Parliament proceeded to paſs thoſe Acts, which are enumerated in pp. 54 and 55 of Mr. Plowden's work, and *which* are † copied verbatim from Leland's Hiſtory, as well as moſt of the pages in this part of the work; namely, the Acts relative to the Reformation; the Marriage of the King and the ſucceſſion to the Crown, relative to the Revenue, and againſt *foſtering*, &c. and to prevent the Engliſh from degenerating; and, amongſt others, alſo the following:

"It was provided that an Engliſh ſchool ſhould be kept in every pariſh, and that ſuch as could not afford to pay for the education of their children at ſuch a ſchool, ſhould be obliged to employ them from the age of ten years in trade and huſbandry.—To prevent waſte of lands, either by the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries or attainder of rebels, commiſſioners were appointed to grant leaſes of all crown lands; and others for pardoning any perſons concerned in the late rebellion, except ſuch as had been attainted by name."——

"Such," obſerves Mr. Plowden in the next paragraph, "were the laws, which this *corrupt and ſervile Parliament* paſſed to gratify the reſentment, luſt, avarice, and ambition of Henry. Ingenuity could not have deviſed a collection of laws, more emphatically calculated

---

* Leland, 2 vol. chap. 7.

† Almoſt every ſentence of the account of the Reformation in his work (excepting the *comments* which are Mr. Plowden's own) is copied from Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, and incorporated into his work, without any acknowledgments to the Doctor for the obligation! That it may appear to be his own, he refers, in his notes, to Uſher, Cox, Ware, Leland, Crawford, who are given in the margin of Doctor Leland's work, as his authorities; there is ſcarcely a page of the early part of Iriſh Hiſtory that has not in it whole ſentences ſtolen from Leland. Will his Iriſh readers think this fair play? Leland's Hiſtory, though ſcarce in England, is in every gentleman's library in Ireland.

N. B. The repreſentation of the Maſter of the Rolls, p. 51, is to be found verbatim in Leland, book 3, chap. 6, and was the repreſentation made to Henry of Kildare's adminiſtration, in conſequence of which he was removed; and was not made at the Parliament which enacted the Reformation. The note upon this ſtatement of grievances, as applicable upon modern times, does not deſerve an anſwer; its abſurdity being an antidote to its miſchief.

to

Digitized by Google

to render the Engliſh power, *contemptible and odious* to the Iriſh nation."

Gracious heaven! of what materials does the writer ſuppoſe the heads of his readers to be made, when he enumerates theſe laws, ſo wiſe, ſo ſalutary, and ſo clement, as inſtances of the rigour and impolicy of Henry the Eighth's government in Ireland?

That the Reformation did not make the ſame rapid ſtrides in Ireland as in England I admit, and at the ſame time deplore. Had it done ſo, thoſe convulſions which have agitated, and thoſe horrors which have ſo long diſgraced it, had never happened. For though the early hoſtility of the Iriſh to the Engliſh and their deſcendants was, until the reign of Henry the Eighth, ſolely on account of their invaſion; yet at that period religious bigotry mixed in the quarrel, in which it has ever ſince moſt obſtinately kept its ground.

That the Reformation made a ſlow progreſs in Ireland is eaſily accounted for. (Appendix, No. VII. No. VIII.) The ſtupid ignorance of the natives, the blind zeal and furious bigotry of the Catholic clergy, threw formidable obſtacles in its way; that it notwithſtanding gained ground, is evident from the alarms which its progreſs gave to the ſee of Rome; which ſent over a private * commiſſion to Cromer (its great opponent) and his aſſociates, enjoining them to perſevere boldly in ſupport of the papal authority, and denouncing the ſevereſt eccleſiaſtical penalties againſt the converts. Theſe efforts were not ineffectual, they prevailed upon the Northern Chieftain † O'Nial, to become

* Leland, p. 171, vol. ii. chap. 7.

† The following Letter was written by the Biſhop of Metz, in the name of the Council of Cardinals to O'Nial, and a Franciſcan Friar diſpatched into Ireland as the bearer of it.

"My ſon O'Nial,——Thou and thy fathers were ever faithful to the Mother Church of Rome: his Holineſs Paul, the preſent Pope, and his council of holy fathers, have lately found an ancient prophecy of one St. Lazerianus, an Iriſh Archbiſhop of Caſhel; it ſaith, that the Church of Rome ſhall ſurely fall, when the Catholic faith is once overthrown in Ireland: therefore, for the glory of the Mother Church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own ſecurity, ſuppreſs hereſy, and oppoſe the enemies of his Holineſs. You ſee that when the Roman faith periſheth in Ireland, the See of Rome is fated to utter deſtruction. The council of Cardinals have therefore thought it neceſſary to animate the people of the Holy Iſland in this pious cauſe, being aſſured, that whilſt the Mother Church hath ſons of ſuch worth as you, and thoſe who ſhall unite with you, ſhe ſhall not fall, but prevail for ever in ſome degree at leaſt in Britain. Having thus obeyed the order of the

Digitized by Google

come the champion for the defence of the Holy Church. He accordingly collected an immenſe army, which after committing dreadful ravages was defeated at the battle of Bellahoe * by the Lieutenant, Lord Leonard Grey, whoſe principal force conſiſted of the citizens of Dublin and Drogheda, who had embraced the Reformation. After ſome petty engagements, which followed this deciſive victory, Ireland was reſtored to tranquillity, and the Reformation gained proſelytes.

That Henry's adminiſtration was far from *odious* to the Iriſh (as Mr. Plowden repreſents) is proved by the following extracts from Leland, at the cloſe of his hiſtory of that monarch's reign. "An unuſual degree of peace ſeemed to have ſpread through the iſland; nor could the practices of Francis the Firſt, when Henry had declared war, and was preparing to invade his kingdom, ſeduce the Iriſh to a revolt. On the other hand, Henry was attended to Calais by a conſiderable body of Iriſh forces, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their undaunted ſpirit:"— "and ſo outrageous was the ſpirit of loyalty, that when a ſon of Fitz-Patrick, the Baron of Upper Oſſory, had committed ſome treaſonable offence, he was delivered up to public juſtice by the hands of his own father †."

With

---

the ſacred council, we recommend your princely perſon to the protection of the holy Trinity, of the bleſſed Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the Hoſt of Heaven. Amen*." See Leland, p. 172, vol. ii. and Ware's Antiquities, and Dr. Warner, chap. 1. p. 13.

Throughout the courſe of theſe Strictures, I mean to conſider the Roman Catholic faith, merely as a political ſyſtem; and as ſuch, to ſhow the influence it has had upon the politics of Ireland. In which point of view only it has been made the ſubject of legal reſtrictions and diſabilities.

* This was the firſt battle in Ireland between the Proteſtants and the Catholics.

† Among the laws paſſed by the Iriſh Parliaments during the reign of Henry VIII. I find in the ſtatute-book the following: 28 Henry VIII. chap. 3, an Act againſt abſentees, veſting two thirds of their Iriſh revenues in the King, for the purpoſes of the ſtate; and ſo early as the ſeventh year of his reign, an Act, that no man ſhould be compelled to anſwer any complaint in England, until the accuſer enter into recognizance in the Chancery of Ireland, to pay coſts and damages if the defendant were acquitted. An Act againſt foreſtalling hides, fells, checkers, fleges, yarn, linen, cloth, wool, &c. &c. which are not to be bought to ſell again, but in open market. An Act 33 Henry VIII. chap. 2, for regulating wages. An Act for erecting vicarages for reſident clergy, chap. 14. An Act againſt vagrants and vagabonds, chap. 15.

* "When it is conſidered," ſays Dr. Warner, p. 14 of his Hiſtory, "that the Church of Rome is poſſeſſed of ſuch a prophecy, and that they place ſo great a confidence in it, it may be ſure, that to whatever other cauſes an inſurrection in Ireland may be aſcribed, the reſtoring the Popiſh Religion to its ancient ſplendour will be always one of the chief."

Digitized by Google

With all the benefits of Queen Mary's *wiſer policy**, in obliging her ſubjects to relapſe into the ſuperſtitions of the Church of Rome, this circumſtance did not, as Mr. Plowden aſſerts, "give a temporary reſpite to the troubled ſtate of Ireland, as far at leaſt as it depended on England." For this Queen at her acceſſion to the throne, found that kingdom tranquil. During her ſhort and violent reign it became the ſcene of inteſtine diſtractions; for a detail of which, as well as of the practices of the Catholic clergy, I refer my readers to Leland's Hiſtory, from whom Mr. Plowden has carefully ſelected (and as I obſerved before) copied verbatim *every page*, which that candid writer devotes to a detail of the errors of the Engliſh Government; whilſt he omits *all thoſe*, which flatly diſprove the poſitions he endeavours to eſtabliſh in his Hiſtorical Review. Before I finiſh this Firſt Part of my Strictures upon this work, I ſhall refute the charge (which Mr. Plowden makes againſt the Engliſh Government) of impolicy, in diſcountenancing, as he repreſents, *all* connection between the ſettlers and the natives. Had he been at the pains of reading the ſtatute "againſt marrying with the Iriſh," he would have diſcovered, that it was not ſo extenſive in its operation, as he ſeems to imagine; for this ſtatute only forbade alliances with thoſe Iriſh who were rebels, who neither acknowledged the authority of Government, or obeyed its laws. The words of the enacting part of this ſtatute are, "that noo perſone, ne perſones the Kinge's ſubjectes within this his lande, of what eſtate degree or dignitie or condicion he or they bee, ſhall marie or foſter themſelves &c. with any Iriſh perſone or perſones of Iriſhe blood, which be *not the Kinge's true ſubjectes*;" and it goes on to enact, that if the perſons with whom they intend to intermarry

---

15. An Act for regulating the return of members to ſerve in Parliament; by which the knights and burgeſſes muſt be reſidents to entitle them to ſtand the poll. An Act how perſons robbed ſhall be reſtored to their goods, chap. 10, 28th year. An Act, 33d year, chap. 4, for lands given by the King; and for creating more nobility, who in the preamble are ſtyled, "the relief and fortification of the realm." An Act, 34th year, chap. 1, for dividing Meath into two counties, and for appointing coroners, juſtices of the peace, clerks of the market, juſtices of *goale* delivery, &c. &c. Theſe are among the Acts of the Parliaments of this reign; which ſurely give us no unfavourable impreſſions of their policy, ſtill leſs ſo of their humanity.

* I muſt not forget to mention that Mary's Catholic Parliament (which according to Mr. P. ſo wonderfully tranquillized Ireland) enacted in the fourth year of the reign of this "immaculate Princeſs," the ſtatute "for the ponyſhement of hereſies." Had this Queen lived a little longer, the citizens of Dublin, as well as thoſe of London, *might* have had the *bonfires* lighted up in their Smithfield: ſee Appendix, No. IX. Firſt Part.

become

Digitized by Google

become denizens, and enter into a recognizance, that the party ſo made a denizen, " without fraud or covine ſhall have a true and unfayned intent of becoming during *his* natural life faithfull, true and obedient to the Kinge's highneſs," the marriage may take place; but that if " at any tyme or tymes hereafter *he* doo tranſgreſſe *his* fidelitie and faithe to the Kinge's highnes, uſing *himſelfe* as the *Kinge's rebell* and proclamacion thereof made by the advyſe of the Kinge's Counſaill in the ſhire or oppen markettes next adjoyning to ſuch offendour," *he* ſhould be conſidered a traitor, and uſed accordingly* (28 Hen. c. 28). Such are the proviſions of a ſtatute, which Mr. P. repreſents as diſcouraging *all* connexion between the Engliſh and the native Iriſh. This Act certainly prevented an Iriſh rebel from marrying a woman of the colony, unleſs he became a denizen, and adhered to his allegiance: and was it not a very juſtifiable policy, to endeavour to prevent the increaſe of the number of the lawleſs Iriſh, and to encourage the multiplication of obedient ſubjects? If the Iriſh of that day were not to be drawn *from* their barbarous manners and inſtitutions, was it expedient that the riſing generation ſhould be drawn to them? The laws therefore againſt alliance, except under certain reſtrictions, were neceſſary to the exiſtence of the colony. " Novitas regni me talia cogit moliri" has been in all ages the cauſe, and the juſtification, of meaſures of much greater ſeverity.

I ſhall here cloſe the Firſt Part of theſe Strictures upon this work. I have ſhown already what little reliance is to be placed upon its hiſtorical accuracy, and how unfounded are its accuſations againſt the conduct of the Engliſh Governments from the reign of Henry the Second to the Reformation.

The Second Part of theſe Strictures ſhall commence with Mr. Plowden's account of the reign of Elizabeth, when religious bigotry *procured* the convulſions of Ireland, which at this day it continues *to aid and abet;* and ſhall end with the reign of George the Second, when the Proteſtant parties of both countries having finally triumphed, the hopes of the Catholics became extinct; and Ireland enjoyed a degree of tranquillity, to which ſhe has been latterly a total ſtranger.

The Third Part ſhall trace the revival of their hopes, the conceſſions upon conceſſions which have followed, and their *effects upon the tranquillity of that country;* and ſhall compriſe that part of Mr. Plowden's work, which commences at the preſent reign, and concludes with the Legiſlative Union of the two Kingdoms.

---

* Query? Did this Act prevent a man of the colony from marrying a wild Iriſh woman if he *took a fancy* to her? Or, if he did, would he have been hanged, &c. &c.

STRICTURES,

Digitized by Google

STRICTURES,

&c. &c.

PART THE SECOND.

Immortale odium et nunquam sanabile vulnus
Inde furor vulgo——— *Juvenal.*

The Irish (i.e. the Catholics) first resolved to rebel, and then set their Lawyers and Divines to work in order to fish for arguments to justify and excuse it.

Dr. Warner's History of the Irish Rebellion, Book 4.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

STRICTURES,

&c. &c.

WERE we to form our opinion of the reign of Queen Elizabeth from Mr. Plowden's work, we ſhould be led to ſuppoſe, that the conduct of her governments towards the natives of Ireland was even more impolitic, unjuſt, and oppreſſive, than thoſe of her predeceſſors, which this Hiſtorical Review has repreſented as ſo wicked and abſurd. But if we turn to thoſe * writers who have given an account of this eventful period of Iriſh Hiſtory, and whoſe relations, as they were not written for a party purpoſe, are entitled to our credit, we ſhall find, that it was her liege ſubjects, i. e. the coloniſts, and not the native Iriſh, who had juſt grounds of complaint againſt her conduct. The manifold calamities which the former ſuffered during this reign, aroſe principally from the following circumſtances. That Princeſs was ever too ready to lend a willing ear to the inſidious repreſentations of thoſe great diſſemblers O'Nial and Tyrone, and their aſſociates; in conſequence of which, two of her ableſt Lieutenants, Sir J. Sydney and Sir J. Perrot, were removed from their governments. The vigour and abilities of theſe deputies, and their perfect knowledge of the inſincerity and ſecret practices of the Iriſh chieftains, had rendered their adminiſtrations formidable to the diſaffected party, who laboured inceſſantly for their removal, and at length ſucceeded. Their ſucceſſors were, in general, men of very inferior capacities, and totally unacquainted with the genius of the

* Namely, Hooker, who is far from partial to the Iriſh governments, Wilkins, Perrot's Letters, Cox, Ware, an anonymous work entitled the Life of Sir John Perrot, Sydney's Letters, Rymer, and the Lambeth MSS. to which Mr. Plowden might have had acceſs, beſides the MSS. of Trinity College, Dublin, which Dr. Leland quotes: all of theſe ſurely are entitled to more credit than the wretched compoſitions of that miſerable bigot O'Sullivan, (to whom Mr. Plowden ſeems ſo much indebted for his information) whom Archbiſhop Uſher, in p. 92 of his religion of the ancient Iriſh, calls "as egregious a liar as I verily think this day breatheth in chriſtendom."

Digitized by Google

people whom they were ſent to govern; and the * ſhort time which moſt of them were ſuffered to remain in that kingdom, prevented them from acquiring the knowledge of the Iriſh character which is ſo neceſſary to their government. Elizabeth, moreover, was never inclined to grant either men or money for the ſervices of Ireland: and, therefore, during the early part of her reign, her deputies were obliged to ſtruggle with great difficulties, and were compelled in many inſtances to have recourſe to meaſures highly injurious to the future repoſe of that kingdom, although they might have ſerved the ſhort-ſighted objects for which they were adopted. One of the moſt impolitic of theſe expedients (the fatal conſequence of which was afterwards diſcovered in Tyrone's rebellion) was the meaſure of arming and embodying, into a kind of militia, the native Iriſh, in order to repel the frequent invaſions of the Scots; who, during the beginning of this reign, ſo often landed in the north of Ireland, and made it the ſcene of their predatory irruptions. This Iriſh militia, who were all Catholics, hated the Engliſh only one degree leſs than the Scots; and, in conſequence, afterwards to a man joined in Tyrone's grand popiſh rebellion; and were the chief cauſe that the final reduction of that formidable rebel was not effected, without ſuch an expence of blood and treaſure†. Theſe were ſome of the cauſes which contributed to the duration of the convulſions of Ireland during Queen Elizabeth's reign. But the principal cauſe of thoſe rebellions, the ſource from whence thoſe waters of bitterneſs flowed, and have continued to flow, was religious bigotry, which ſharpened the ancient animoſity of the natives againſt the Engliſh, and gave freſh zeal and enthuſiaſm to their efforts to ſhake off the dominion of England.

During the feeble Catholic government of Queen Mary, Ireland had been diſtracted by the petty wars of chieftains againſt chieftains, and ſepts againſt ſepts, which her wretched adminiſtration was unable to reſtrain. But from the moment that Elizabeth aſcended the throne, and declared for the Reformation, the grand Iriſh popiſh confederacy, in concert with Spain and Rome, was formed againſt her; which afterwards, when Eng-

* The Lord Deputies in this reign were, Suſſex, Arnold, Sir J. Sydney, Sir J. Perrot, Fitz-William, Pelham, Eſſex the father, Sydney again, Sir W. Ruſſel, Sir H. Bagnal, Lord Grey, Lord Burgh, Ormond, Eſſex the ſon, firſt ſtyled Lord-Lieutenant, Mountjoy; fifteen times the government of Ireland was changed in this reign.

† See all the authorities already referred to, and alſo Nanton's Fragmenta Regalia.

Digitized by Google

land was threatened with invasion by Philip, burst forth into two violent and well-organized rebellions, the last of which was not finally extinguished during her reign. Both these rebellions were openly abetted by the Pope, Philip, and all Elizabeth's foreign enemies, and were fomented in Ireland by the practices of the Catholic clergy, aided by the zeal of the ecclesiastical * missionaries from abroad.

That Shawn O'Nial†, Tyrone, Desmond, and the other rebel-leaders of that day, were indifferent to all religious creeds, or too ignorant to comprehend any, I am willing to admit. But that religious bigotry was their chief ally, and the great incitement to the exertions of their fanatic followers, can only be controverted by those who are destitute of candour, or of historical information.

Mr. Plowden would wish to convince his readers, that religious bigotry was but a secondary cause of the convulsions of Ireland during this reign, which, according to his work, were provoked by the oppressions of the Irish government; whereas in truth, the severities and confiscations of which he complains, did not take place, until after the Queen had been justly incensed at the treachery and rebellions of the native Irish. For when Sir John Perrott, in the 29th year of Elizabeth's reign, resigned his government—

---

* Namely, two Spanish ecclesiastics, who arrived after Desmond was slain; Carte does not mention their names, in whose Introduction to the Life of Ormond the fact is stated. Don Matthew Oviedo, another Spanish missionary, who brought O'Nial * a consecrated plume from the Pope; Saunders, the famous English fanatic; Allen, an Irish priest, sent with a mission from Rome†; not to mention the *Bulls* against Elizabeth, sent from Rome to Tyrone.

† Shawn O'Nial, called by his countrymen the great O'Nial, was a ferocious barbarian, his rebellion began in 1560. After he was conquered, he was received into favour; and, in 1567, he rebelled again, and being pushed by Sir H. Sydney, gave himself up to the Scotch invaders, by whom he was murdered treacherously at a feast; he was noted for his debaucheries, and after his intemperance used to plunge his body in the mire, to allay the fever his excesses had produced; he put some of his followers to death for introducing the use of bread from the English. Cox, p. 321; Hume's Eliz. chap. 45.

* The letter from Pope Clement the Eighth, which was sent with this plume, and the indulgences granted to the rebel Irish, are to be found in Pacata Hib. p. 368.

† Owen Mac-Egan, who was sent as Apostolical Vicar from Spain, A. D. 1602, and Owen Mac-Owen another Apostolical Vicar, who caused every Irishman who served the Queen, after being confessed and absolved, to be executed. See Ware, p. 63.

Digitized by Google

" He delivered the ſword," (ſee Ware, p. 42, chap. 31, reign of Elizabeth,) " to his ſucceſſor, declaring, that he left the kingdom in peace, and that now, although a private man, he would engage to bring in any ſuſpected leader within twenty days, without violence or conteſt; he embarked with the acclamations, particularly of the lower orders of the people, who had felt the benefits of his adminiſtration; old Tirlaugh, of Tirowen (an O'Nial) followed him to the water-ſide bathed in tears*."

That the principal cauſe of Tyrone's rebellion was religious fanaticiſm, or that it was the means he made uſe of to excite his countrymen to arms, the Manifeſto which he publiſhed previous to his great inſurrection ſufficiently proves. He tells them in it, " as I ſhall anſwer before God, I will employ myſelf to the utmoſt of my power, for the extirpation of hereſie, and the planting of the Catholic religion." Again, " I give you to underſtand upon my ſalvation, that chiefly and principally I fight for the Catholic faith, to be planted throughout all our poor country, as well in cities as elſe where;" and again, " if I had gotten to be King of Ireland without having the Catholic religion, which before I have mentioned, I would not accept the ſame:" and after informing them that they could not conſcientiouſly pay obedience to an excommunicated Princeſs, though " there might have been a mitigation† made by her in favour of Catholics, by which they might be licenſed, in civil matters, to give her, during their inability, obedience;" he concludes with this exhortation:

" And now let us join all together, to deliver this our poor country from that infection of hereſie with which ſhe is, and ſhall be, if God do not ſpecially favour us, moſt miſerably infected; taking example from that moſt Chriſtian and Catholic country of France; whoſe ſubjects, for defence of the Catholick faith, maintained warres ſo long, yea againſt their moſt natural King, as he was, by their means, conſtrained to profeſs the Catholick religion, duly ſubmitting himſelf to

---

* His actions during his government are thus expreſſed by Sir Nicholas White:

Pacificavit Conaciam, relaxavit Mediam
Ligavit Momoniam
Extirpavit Scotos,
Refrenavit Anglos
Et his omnibus peræque vectigal acquiſivit Riginæ. Ware.

† Here is an admiſſion out of the mouth of this great rebel, that indulgences were allowed to the Catholics of Ireland in this reign, which were denied to their brethren of that day in England.

the

Digitized by Google

the apoſtolical ſee of Rome, to which doubtleſs we may bring our country, you putting your helping hand to the ſame*."

When, therefore, Mr. Plowden chuſes to aſſert, that "Tyrone's grand rebellion *was brought on* and continued by the noxious policy of treating the Iriſh as a divided, ſeparate, and enſlaved people," he advances a poſition unſupported by any one reputable hiſtorian, and ſolely reſting upon his own aſſertion. All the writers of this period agree, that Elizabeth was peculiarly anxious to conciliate this O'Nial; that ſhe received him at her court with diſtinguiſhed favour, created him Earl of Tyrone, and obliged her deputies to receive his frequent ſubmiſſions † and apologies for his inſurrections; in conſequence of which, they were reſtrained from counteracting his deſigns in their infancy; and thus he was ſuffered to mature that very formidable rebellion, to conquer which, Elizabeth was obliged to ſend her favourite Eſſex with twenty thouſand troops, and in conſequence of which that iſland was nearly laid waſte.

One of the principal *grievances* of this reign, of which the natives complained, was the attempt to introduce the trial by jury, ‡ that bulwark of Britiſh liberty; another was, the appointment of Sheriffs in their counties. In the thirty-ninth year of this Queen, when the Deputy Fitzwilliam, immediately upon his ſucceeding Sir J. Perrot, intimated to the chieftain of Fermanagh, that he would ſend a Sheriff into his county, "he ſhall be wellcome," anſwered Maguire; "but let me know his Eirick (the fine by the Brehon laws for murder) that if my people cut off his head, I may levy it upon the county§;" and, among the Bills which the Catholic oppoſition in that Parliament (which Mr. Plowden informs us was *packed* for the baſe purpoſes of giving legiſlative ſanction to unjuſt

* Camden, p. 644.

† He was received into favour five times; and, after his grand rebellion, James I. reſtored him to his lands and honours; notwithſtanding which, he rebelled again; and finally deſpairing of pardon, he fled to Spain, where, or at Rome, I forget which, he ended his turbulent life: his extenſive lands thus eſcheated to the crown.

‡ I have been informed, that at this day in Connaught, and many other parts of Ireland, the lower orders of the Iriſh deteſt the trial by jury, which they conſider (particularly when it is compoſed of Proteſtants) as only a more pompous mode of unjuſtly putting them to death: ſo little alteration have centuries made in the prejudices of the Iriſh!

§ Sir J. Davis, p. 259, edit. 1613.

 meaſures)

Digitized by Google

measures*) refused to pass, we find the following: namely, one for laying a small duty on wines, and another for the suspension of Poyning's laws; the repeal of which, in our own times, was the first measure taken to establish the independence of Ireland; and for the obtaining of which, the Irish patriots imagined they deserved the eternal gratitude of their country. These two Acts were at length, not without difficulty, passed, in the fourth session of this Parliament, in which this Catholic opposition also rejected two Bills, one for the reparation of parochial schools, and another for the erection of free schools†. Their conduct is thus accounted for by Dr. Leland, who quotes Hooker, who was so scandalized at their conduct.

"The enemies of the reformed religion, a numerous party, those who dreaded the diminution of their power, in the several districts which they had been used to oppress; those who enriched themselves, and supported their petty feuds by Irish exactions, &c. all came to Parliament with a determined resolution to oppose every measure that came from the throne‡."

Can we therefore wonder, that a princess of Elizabeth's temper, who treated her own Parliaments with so high a hand, should have imprisoned those Deputies, whom this Catholic opposition, which so factiously opposed her favourite Reformation, and her plans for civilizing Ireland, sent to London, to lay what they called their grievances at the foot of the throne?

Mr. P. *forgot* to inform his reader that Queen Elizabeth A.D. 1592, in the 35th year of her reign, founded and endowed the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, near Dublin; Adam Loftus Archbishop of Dublin, was the first Provost.

Queen Elizabeth in the first fifteen years of her reign expended in Ireland the sum of £.490,779 7*s.* 6*d.* though the whole produce of the Irish revenue during that period was but £.120,000. Ware, chap. 15.

In her reign during the government of Lord Sussex, the first clock was set up in Dublin in the castle, which, says Ware, being a novelty was very pleasing to the common people. Chap. iii.

In the 13th year of her reign also the Irish characters for printing were first brought into Ireland by Nicholas Walsh, chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Chap. xv. Ware.

The first book ever printed in Ireland was the Liturgy, in the year 1550, printed by Humphry Powell. Annals of Dublin.

---

* Historical Review, p. 75.
† Rymer, T. 15, p. 676.
‡ Leland, vol. ii. book 4, chap. 1.

In

Digitized by Google

In the 30th year of her reign, Lilly's English Grammar was ordered by an Act of Council to be taught in Ireland.

Ware, chap. xxx.

And in her reign in the year 1565, John Hawkins from Santa Fè in New Spain, originally introduced potatoes into Ireland, the firſt brought into Europe; they did not become the general food of the Iriſh until after the Revolution: Sir W. Temple, and Sir J. Dalrymple ſeem to conſider (with good reaſon) the idleneſs of the lower Iriſh to ariſe in ſome meaſure, from the eaſe with which potatoes are cultivated, and from their being ſatisfied with ſuch food.

Whiſkey was in uſe in Ireland from a much earlier period, ſome of the earlieſt Acts in the Iriſh Statute book, are two or three prohibiting the making and uſing of aqua vitæ *made from grain.* Vol. i. Iriſh Statues.

As to that

" unparalleled ſyſtem of confiſcation and depopulation which," Mr. Plowden ſays " began in this reign; and which, being it its nature ſo diametrically oppoſite to union, pointedly marks the evils which ſo long afflicted Ireland for want of this ſalutary meaſure;"

I beg leave, in anſwer, to obſerve, that this writer ſeems to have forgotten, that confiſcation of property, in conſequence of treaſon, was formerly, and ſtill is, the law of England as well as of Ireland; nor has the act of Union repealed this ſtatute; and as to the depopulation of which he complains, it aroſe from the inevitable conſequences of the inſurrections of the Iriſh, who were then (as I fear many of them ſtill are) only to be taught leſſons of obedience in the field of battle. The lands of Ireland were forfeited for rebellion. That they have been forfeited over and over again, I admit; and this is eaſily accounted for, becauſe the hiſtory of that country is little more than the hiſtory of a ſeries of rebellions. When, therefore, this writer condemns this ſyſtem of confiſcation, he condemns the laws of our country; which, in ſpite of the ſenſibilities of modern philoſophers, and the practices of modern reformers, will, I truſt, be immortal.

To expoſe all the miſrepreſentations and erroneous concluſions to be found in this author's review of the reign of Elizabeth, it would be neceſſary to write a chapter longer than his own. I ſhall only therefore detain my readers by laying before them an extract from the Earl of Eſſex's Letter to the Queen, given in Mr. Plowden's Appendix; and to which, in p. 81 of the firſt volume, he ſeems ſo triumphantly to refer. I treſpaſs thus on my readers, becauſe, although the picture was drawn for the natives in Queen Elizabeth's time, I am ſorry to be obliged to obſerve, that *ſome traces* of the reſemblance

Digitized by Google

blance may be found among their deſcendants of *a much later period.*

" In their affection," ſays Eſſex, " they love nothing but idleneſs; in their rebellion, they have no other end but *to ſhake off the yoake of obedience to your Majeſtie, and to rout out all remembrance of the Engliſh nation in this kingdom.* I ſay, I ſay this of the people in general, for I find not only a great part thus affected, but that it is a general quarrel of the Iriſh; and they who do not profeſs it are either ſo few or ſo falſe, that there is no account to be made of them. The Iriſh nobility and Lords of counties do not only affect this plauſible quarrel, and are divided from us in religion*, but have an eſpecial quarrel againſt the Engliſh government, becauſe it limiteth and tieth them, who have ever been, and ever would be, as abſolute tyrants as any under the ſunt."

It is plain, therefore, who it was that oppreſſed the common people of Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth; and who endeavoured to reſtrain thoſe oppreſſions.

I paſs on to the reign of James I.

" The acceſſion of the houſe of Stewart," ſays Mr. Plowden, " to the throne of England, and *conſequently to that of Ireland*‡, forms a very notable æra in the modern hiſtory of that country, the conduct of the Iriſh to his family, and their treatment of them in return, furniſhes a moſt melancholy illuſtration of that deteſtable policy of the Stuarts, which baſely laviſhed that favour upon their *enemy* (the Proteſtants, I preſume) which was the rightful *perquiſite* of their faithful friend" (the Catholics).

In anſwer to this accuſation againſt the Princes of the Houſe of Stuart, I muſt obſerve, firſt, that it does not appear to me to have been ſuch very bad policy in moſt of the Kings of England of that race, to have entruſted the political power of the ſtate to that party which obeyed their laws, ſupported their power, and in conſequence preſerved the connexion of the two countries; rather than to the oppoſite party, which

---

* This happily is no longer the caſe.

† It would have been more prudent in Mr. Plowden to have left this Letter from Eſſex to Queen Elizabeth out of his Appendix; every line of it being *unluckily* a contradiction to his poſitions.

‡ We ſhall ſee that, notwithſtanding this poſition of Mr. Plowden's, which I know to be ſtrictly legal, he afterwards, in the reign of James the Second, denies that when William the Third aſcended the throne of England, he alſo mounted that of Ireland: becauſe, argues this lawyer, though James abdicated the throne of England, he never did that of Ireland; ergo, he was its lawful king. Q. E. D. In its proper place I ſhall attack this gentleman in *his own trade*, upon the legality of this poſition.

hated

Digitized by Google

hated the Engliſh power, fomented rebellion after rebellion, and upon every favourable opportunity, endeavoured to extirpate the Britiſh name and nation out of their country. Secondly, it appears to me, that a great ſhare of the guilt *(whatever it may be)* of that "deteſtable policy," belongs to the Proteſtant Parliaments of England, as well as Ireland: and that therefore, however inclined James the Firſt, or any of his ſucceſſors, might have been to beſtow theſe *perquiſites* upon their *faithful friend*, theſe aſſemblies would, to a certainty, have taken the liberty of interpoſing and counteracting any *liberal* intentions which they might have formed, of entruſting the government of Ireland to a claſs of ſubjects, *implicitly obeying a foreign power*, whoſe code of eccleſiaſtical juriſprudence was not very favourable to the authority of an *heretical* prince.

Mr. Plowden ſeems quite to have forgotten, that there was at any period of our hiſtory a very well-founded horror of the maxims and practices of Popery, in ſo much ſo, that when one of this family (againſt which he ſeems to have ſuch an implacable hatred) who was of a more *grateful* diſpoſition than any of his predeceſſors, attempted to grant theſe ſaid *perquiſites* to his faithful *friends;* his enemies, namely, all the Proteſtants of England who did not at all reliſh theſe *douceurs*, forced the *generous* James to abdicate the throne, and that ſoon after, the Proteſtants of Ireland, by their exertions at the battle of the Boyne, put an end to James's liberality in that kingdom.

Inſtead of examining, therefore, what the very lively imagination of this writer has ſuggeſted to him, that the Houſe of Stuart ought to have done, let us trace in his work the miſrepreſentations he has given of what they actually did.

Mr. Plowden admits (and indeed he could not avoid it) that James the Firſt was extremely anxious to ingratiate himſelf with the Iriſh; accordingly we find, that the firſt act of his government was an act of very unuſual lenity; for he reſtored to his honours and *his lands*, that very rebel Tyrone, who, by his great rebellion in the laſt reign, had laid Ireland waſte, or, as this writer tenderly expreſſes it, "who in the late commotions had been very active againſt the government." James created O'Donnel, who had been alſo "very active againſt the government," Earl of Tyrconnel;" (Appendix, No. I, to Second Part) which favors they requited, by plotting another rebellion, in concert with Spain and Rome, againſt the King's Iriſh government; which having been moſt fortunately diſcovered, they fled, and both found refuge with the Spaniſh King, and their friend, the Pope. Mr. Plowden ſeems to have ſome doubts upon his mind, whether they were not "the victims of a ſham

Digitized by Google

ſham plot," and apprehends that they might have fled, not from a conſciouſneſs of their guilt, but from motives of fear only. Now, fear was no feature in the character of Tyrone. But Leland has expoſed the abſurdity of ſuch a ſuppoſition, as well as accounted for its origin.

"The writers of the Roman Catholic party," ſays this accurate hiſtorian, "have aſſerted, without any proof, or circumſtance of credibility, that they had been ſeduced into ſome private conferences, by one of the family of St. Lawrence, and afterwards betrayed by him to the deputy: but had any art or treachery been uſed to render them obnoxious to the laws, they had the fulleſt opportunity of explaining the deep ſcheme, and leaving ſome memorial in vindication of their conduct, either in Spain or Rome, where they were entertained and *reſpected*; but as no ſuch memorials have appeared in vindication of their conduct, they ſeem to have acquieſced in the charge of conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh government, and to have recommended themſelves to thoſe of their *own communion*, as men who had ſacrificed their honours and poſſeſſions to the freedom of their country, and the intereſts of their religion." Vol. ii. chap. 6, b. 4, p. 423.

In conſequence of their flight, their extenſive eſtates* were forfeited to the crown, and James proceeded to plant his northern colony, which laid the firſt foundation for civilizing Ireland.

Mr. Plowden's readers would from his work be led to ſuppoſe, that this extenſive diſtrict, colonized by James, containing five hundred thouſand acres, and compriſing the greater part of the north of Ireland, was then a moſt flouriſhing, and well-peopled tract of land; and, he moreover aſſerts, that the natives were "forcibly diſpoſſeſſed," to make room for the new coloniſts. Now all the writers whom I have conſulted, agree in repreſenting it to have been a tract of land partly covered with wood, in which rebels and robbers found a ſecure ſhelter, the remainder being deſolated by war and famine; and that it muſt have lain waſte, without the deliberate and vigorous interpoſition of the Engliſh government. Indeed, when we conſider the characters of the former poſſeſſors, and particularly of Tyrone, it does not appear very probable (had we not even indiſputable evidence to the contrary) that a country over which they preſided, could have been the abode either of induſtry or civilization.

James (ſay Leland† and Hume) who affected to derive his

* A large proportion of the counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Armagh, Fermanagh, Derry, and Cavan.

† Leland's Hiſt. Ireland, vol. ii. p. 429, Hume's reign of James.

glory

Digitized by Google

glory from the Arts of Peace, reſolved to diſpoſe of theſe lands in ſuch a manner, as might introduce all the happy conſequences of peace and cultivation. The experience of ages bears the moſt honourable teſtimony to the deſign, and Ireland muſt acknowledge, that here the firſt foundations were laid of its affluence and ſecurity: and Ireland does acknowledge with gratitude her obligation to James! for the part of that kingdom thus colonized, the North, is at this day the ſeat of her ſtaple manufacture*, the linen; it is the great bulwark of the Proteſtant religion; it is the moſt flouriſhing, the beſt civilized, and the only generally well-affected part of that iſland.

Had this gentleman, therefore, before he wrote his crude hiſtory of this celebrated northern plantation, taken the trouble to look into "the orders and conditions to be obſerved by the undertakers," &c. "the project for the diviſion and plantation of the eſcheated lands," "the commiſſion of enquiry with the articles and inſtructions annexed," as alſo into "Captain Pynnar's Survey, made at ſeveral times, and in ſeveral places, by virtue of the King's Commiſſions under the great Seal," all of which he might have found in that very valuable collection of Iriſh papers, entitled "Harris's Hibernica;" and had he examined theſe *official documents* with an attentive and impartial eye, he muſt have informed his readers, that James, profiting by the example of the errors committed by Elizabeth in her ineffectual attempts at colonization, had formed his great plan in the manner moſt calculated to conciliate the native Iriſh, by a reſpect for their habits and prejudices, as far as was conſiſtent with the great object of their civilization which he had in view; and that therefore, inſtead of driving the Iriſh into the hills and faſtneſſes, he allotted to them the plains; that he ſuffered them to chooſe, as under-tenants and ſervants, thoſe of their own country and religion; and that, while the undertakers† and ſervitors‡ were all obliged to chooſe Scottiſh or Engliſh tenants (who were compelled to take the oath of ſupremacy) the former were tacitly exempted. That moreover he "gave the Iriſh eſtates in *fee-farm*, at the yearly rent of ten pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence for every portion of a thouſand acres, and ſo rateably for greater proportions§;"

* Firſt introduced by Wentworth, Lord Strafford, in the reign of Charles I. and encouraged and foſtered by the great Duke of Ormond at the beginning of the reign of James the Second.

† The company of merchants in London.

‡ Thoſe who held civil or military employments in Ireland.

§ Harris's Hibernica, p. 129.

and

Digitized by Google

and that the only reſtraint he compelled them to ſubmit to was, " that they ſhould take no Iriſh exactions, and that they ſhould uſe tillage after the Engliſh manner*." Mr. Plowden acknowledges, in p. 105, that 116,330 acres of the five hundred thouſand were allotted to the natives; and, when it is recollected, that theſe lands were the plains, and of courſe the moſt fruitful, and that the mountainous and wooded parts were allotted to the undertakers and ſervitors, which they were obliged to clear and improve, the diſtribution appears to me to be very fair and equitable; and if Mr. Plowden, during his *three trips* to Ireland, had made one to the north, the preſent ſtate of that famous plantation would have convinced him, by a compariſon with the other provinces of that kingdom, of the ineſtimable obligations which Ireland owes to James I.†

As to the ſuſpicions entertained of the Iriſh Catholics during the latter part of this reign, the precautions taken againſt them, and the manner in which James I. treated the deputation which the (Appendix, No. II. Second Part) Popiſh cabal ſent over to him‡, I muſt remind our readers, ſince Mr. Plowden has *inadvertently* forgotten to do ſo, that theſe circumſtances all occurred after the fortunate diſcovery of the Gunpowder Plot, and the alarms of an *affiliated* conſpiracy in Ireland; which were fully authenticated, by the flights of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and the daring practices of the eccleſiaſtical emiſſaries of Spain and Rome;—

" Ogni medaglio ha il ſuo reverſo;

---

* i. e. that they ſhould give up their cuſtoms of burning the land (the old Iriſh mode of manuring), and ploughing by yoking their horſes to the ploughs by *their tails*, inſtead of tackle. Notwithſtanding this proviſion, they continued the uſe of their ancient mode; for Captain Pynnar, who, by the King's order, ſurveyed this plantation nine years after its firſt eſtabliſhment, every where reports, " that the Iriſh do ſtill plough by the taile." See Pynnar's Survey in Harris's Hibernica.

† To ſecure to this Proteſtant plantation an influence in the ſtate, James I. erected ſixty-ſeven corporations, with the privilege of ſending members to the Parliament; and in 1613, when Chicheſter was Lord Deputy, 13th James I. the firſt Parliament in which all the provinces in Ireland were repreſented, was aſſembled; before this year of James's reign the Parliament was merely the aſſembly of that ſmall diſtrict called the *pale*; the 12 Eliz. chap. 3, enumerates nine counties only, as obeying the Engliſh laws. See alſo, 28 Hen. VI. 13 Hen. VIII. chap. 3. 33 Hen. VIII. chap. 2. 34 Hen. VIII.

‡ Hiſtorical Review, p. 110.

but,

Digitized by Google

but, as Mr. Plowden thinks proper to give but one ſide of the medal, it became neceſſary to turn to the other, to ſee upon what occaſion it was ſtruck.

The commencement of Charles the Firſt's reign, Mr. Plowden admits, was highly gratifying to the Catholics of Ireland*; and the meaſures purſued by his government in that country were lenient and very popular. Indulgences *on the ſcore* of religion were allowed to them, greater than they had ever experienced from a Proteſtant monarch ſince the Reformation. Theſe indulgences he repreſents as highly alarming to the Puritanic party†, which he would lead his readers to ſuppoſe was as powerful at that time in Ireland as in England. Now a ſtronger proof of their weakneſs cannot be produced, than the hiſtorical fact, that the Puritans were obliged to form a *coalition* ‡ in Parliament with the Catholic party; and to join hand in hand with them, in their meaſures of oppoſition to government, and their ſtruggles againſt the King's prerogative. When, therefore, this writer aſſerts (p. 135) "that ſuch at this time was the prevalence of the Puritan party in Ireland; ſuch their arrogance, ferocity, and power; ſuch their avowed hatred to the Catholics (their parliamentary aſſociates); and ſuch their ſtill diſſembled, but active enmity to royalty, that the moſt ſerious apprehenſions were entertained of an immediate general maſſacre§ or extermination of the whole body of the Catholics;" his work becomes an abſurd and miſchievous romance, and not an hiſtory. We muſt therefore look out for ſome other cauſe why the Catholics of Ireland, as Mr. Plowden expreſſes it, p. 141, "*united* in a regular ſyſtem of *ſelf-defence*, which, to this day," he ſays, "is *moſt unwarrantably* and *unjuſtly* ſtyled an odious and unnatural rebellion;" and fortunately we need not be very long in the ſearch.

---

* Hiſtorical Review, p. 114.

† Ibid, p. 115, et ſequentes.

‡ See Ruſhworth, vol. iv. and, from a manuſcript in Trinity College, Dublin, entitled "Journal of the Houſe of Lords," Leland informs us, that "the Catholic Lords, and thoſe Proteſtant Lords infected with the Puritanic ſpirit, alſo joined in their meaſures of oppoſition to Lord Strafford's adminiſtration." Many are of opinion, that the Iriſh oppoſition party in Parliament, in 1797, were, inadvertently no doubt, playing the game for the United Iriſhmen.

§ I have read of Popiſh maſſacres in the hiſtory of Ireland and France; but, in the courſe of my reading, I have not met with a ſingle maſſacre by the Iriſh Proteſtants.

"The

Digitized by Google

"The clergy," says Leland, "by whose influence these violent proceedings were directed*, were, by their numbers and their principles, justly alarming to Government†. They swarmed into the kingdom from foreign seminaries, where they had imbibed the most abject and pestilent opinions of the papal authority. Seculars and regulars alike had bound themselves by a solemn oath to defend the papacy against the whole world, to labour for the augmentation of its power and privileges, to execute its mandates, and to prosecute heresies. The whole body acted in dangerous concert, under the direction of the Pope, and subject to the orders of the congregation *de propaganda fide*, lately erected at Rome; and many of them, by their education in the seminaries of Spain, were peculiarly devoted to the interests of that monarch: habituated to regard the insurrections of the old Irish, in the reign of Elizabeth, as the most generous exertions of patriotism, and taught to detest the power which quelled this spirit, and established a dominion on the ruins of the ancient dignity and pre-eminence of their countrymen."

But, as this picture has been copied by a Protestant divine, I refer my readers to the original, namely, the Narrative (throughout) of Walsh, the Irish Franciscan Friar, who was present in Ireland at the time these transactions took place.

I have already remarked, that Mr. Plowden's mode of writing history is rather a novel one; and my observation is confirmed, by the manner in which he has compiled his history of this memorable reign: for he begins by informing his readers, in a note to p. 113, that they must give very little, if any credit to all the reputable historians of that remarkable epoch of Irish history, on account of their party prejudices; that Dr. Warner‡ only can be trusted, whose book is very scarce in Ireland; and therefore, although it contradicts every one of Mr. Plowden's favourite positions, yet his Irish readers have his full permission to consult it, on account of its scarcity.

---

* Namely, seizing upon the Protestant churches, and celebrating their worship with all possible publicity and ostentation; erecting numerous nunneries and friaries, and a Popish college, in Dublin, immediately upon hearing of Charles's orders to his Deputy, Lord Faulkland, in the third year of his reign, to give the Catholics every possible indulgence and toleration, consistently with the safety of the established church. See Leland, vol. iii. chap. 1.

† The year before this rebellion, Sir H. Vane wrote to the Lords Justices, "that his Majesty had received advice that there had lately passed from Spain, and it was likely from other parts, an unspeakable number of churchmen into England and Ireland, and that a whisper run among the Irish friars in Spain, as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland." P. 11. Dr. Warner's History.

‡ I thank Mr. Plowden for referring me to Dr. Warner, of whose work I have made no small use in my Appendix, and Strictures.

The

Digitized by Google

The works of Lord (Appendix, No. III.) Caſtlehaven, one of the members of the ſupreme (rebel) Catholic council of Kilkenny, and who commanded the rebel Leinſter horſe, under the rebel General Preſton; thoſe of the titular Biſhop of Ferns, who, in his book, ſtyles the maſſacre of 1641, "ſanctum et juſtiſſimum bellum;" and the writings of Meſſrs. Peter Walſh* the Franciſcan, Geoghegan, O'Connor, and Currie†, they have Mr. Plowden's permiſſion to place their confidence in; particularly as ſome of them agree with him, that the Iriſh maſſacre and rebellion of 1641 was provoked by the oppreſſions of the government of Lord Strafford.

Mr. Plowden having removed out of his way all impediments to hiſtorical miſrepreſentation, by thus interdicting any reference to Sir J. Temple, Doctor Borlace, Clarendon, Carte, and Sir Richard Cox, proceeds to eſtabliſh three poſitions. Firſt, that the cruel and wanton rebellion of the year 1641, was provoked by the rigour of Lord Strafford's adminiſtration; ſecondly, that the Catholics of that day were *zealous* loyaliſts, fighting for King Charles, his crown, and dignity; and, thirdly, that the Proteſtants of Ireland commenced the firſt maſſacre.

As to the firſt poſition—Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, commenced his adminiſtration in 1632, on the removal of Lord Faulkland; at the beginning of the year 1641, he loſt his head for his attachment to his unfortunate maſter. That Strafford was a harſh, rigorous and imperious governor, I feely admit; but that his adminiſtration, however odious to the Catholic and Puritanic parties, was highly beneficial to the (Appendix, No. IV.) intereſts of Ireland, I have abundant au-

---

* Poor Peter Walſh honeſtly owns, that this rebellion was entirely the *handy work* of the Catholic prieſts and foreign eccleſiaſtical emiſſaries; in conſequence of which, Peter, who ſeems to have been a very conſcientious man, has been ever conſidered, by the Catholic party, as a horrible renegado: as his work is probably not to be had in Ireland, Mr. P. may ſafely refer his readers to it.

† This Dr. Currie, amongſt other aſſertions, maintained that there was no rebellion in Ireland in 1641, becauſe there was no evidence of ſuch a tranſaction on the Journals of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. It is true, that the proceedings of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons from 1641 to 1647 were not printed in any edition of the Journals previous to the year 1764 (it was prior to this year that Currie wrote) becauſe it was not until the year 1764 that the MS. of theſe proceedings was diſcovered, by a Mr. Dugan, who bought it from the widow of the clerk of Sir Stephen Rice, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in the reign of James II. and brought it to the Houſe, who paid him 200l. for it—it was tranſcribed, and has been inſerted in every edition of the Iriſh Journals printed ſince 1764.—See Journals, vol. 1, p. 290.

thorities

Digitized by Google

thorities to produce, and, firſt, Leland thus deſcribes his government: "But, however individuals were aggrieved by his conduct, the natives, who had never known a ſtrict and ſcrupulous adminiſtration of Engliſh law, cleared from every thing arbitrary and oppreſſive, were abundantly conſoled by the advantages derived from the adminiſtration of Lord Strafford. The army, which had long proved an odious and intolerable burden to the inhabitants, yet ſcarcely of eſſential ſervice to the crown, was well diſciplined, duly paid, and preſerved in good condition, inoffenſive to the peaceable ſubjects, and formidable to the enemies of government. The revenue was unincumbered, and a large ſum lay ready in the Exchequer to anſwer any ſudden emergency. The eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment was protected, the revenues of the church improved, and abler and more reputable teachers provided for the people. The Scottiſh Puritans (who inhabited the North) were indeed ſometimes offended at the indulgence ſhewn to the recuſants; but, in the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, where far the greater number of the inhabitants, and *thoſe poſſeſſed of power and* CONSEQUENCE, *were of the Romiſh communion*, the moſt obvious maxims of policy forbad any rigorous execution of the * penal ſtatutes. It was ſufficient to confine recuſants to a leſs public and offenſive exerciſe of religion, ſo as to preſerve the authority of government, without provoking violent and dangerous diſcontents. Peace, order, obedience, and induſtry, diſtinguiſhed the preſent period from that of any former adminiſtration. The value of lands was encreaſed, commerce extended, the cuſtoms amounted to almoſt four times their former ſum, the commodities exported from Ireland were twice as much in value as the foreign merchandize imported, and ſhipping was found to have encreaſed an hundred fold—ſuch were the benefits derived from Lord Wentworth's adminiſtration, however in many inſtances unpopular, odious and oppreſſive." Doctor Leland quotes no authority for this repreſentation of the benefits which Ireland derived from the government of Strafford; and as this excellent hiſtory, ſo often quoted by Mr. Plowden,

* Mr. P. admits, p. 120, "that Strafford for political reaſons preferred any other mode of taxation to that of raiſing the neceſſary levies upon the conſciences of the natives." In this ſame page he aſſerts, "that he played off his inſincerity upon the Catholicks before he had taken poſſeſſion of his government," for thus in a note he ſays, "we are able to vouch his own authority," which, though not at all ſparing of his notes, he does not do!

when

Digitized by Google

when it condemns the errors of Iriſh governments, is nevertheleſs interdicted as an authority for the leading events of this regin, I was obliged to ſeek for a confirmation of the truth of theſe facts in another work; accordingly, in * Ruſhworth (that writer ſo partial to the parliamentarians), in his fourth volume, from page 120 to 247, incluſive, I find the fulleſt confirmation of this ſtatement; and among the other obligations which Ireland owes to this great victim to popular frenzy, is the introduction of her linen manufacture, which Lord Wentworth firſt eſtabliſhed in that country, in place of the woollen, which, if it had been extended, would have cauſed eternal jealouſies between the two countries: and which linen manufacture he gave † thirty thouſand pounds out of his own pocket to promote. When this great man (whoſe abſence Doctor Warner thinks was the cauſe of the rebellion, "becauſe he was too vigilant, too brave, and too high ſpirited not to have cruſhed it in its birth," p. 17.) was called over to England, and afterwards impeached, and beheaded, immediately the Catholic and Puritanic parties in Parliament, which had been awed by his firmneſs, and controuled by his vigour, obtained a complete aſcendency in that aſſembly. Thoſe *patriots*, like their ſucceſſors of a later date, immediately produced their *budget* of grievances. They had obtained a decided majority by diſplacing all Strafford's friends; for we are informed by Ruſhworth, that to have been neglected or ill-treated by Strafford, was now conſidered as the higheſt merit, and the moſt effectual recommendation to honours and employments.

I find alſo in the Iriſh Commons Journals of 1641, that after the impeachment and execution of this Earl, the Iriſh Parliament pronounced the High Commiſſion Court (or Caſtle Chamber, as it was called), a great and univerſal grievance; that they limited the execution of martial law, even in times of war and rebellion; that they pronounced ſome equitable demands of the Proteſtant clergy grievances; that they at-

---

* See alſo Nalſon, p. 45, vol. 2, and Sir P. Warwick, p. 115.

† See Strafford's letters, vol. 1, and Carte's Ormond; and alſo Leland, 3d vol. chap. 1. The linen manufacture of Ireland is at this day protected in the Engliſh market by a duty of twenty-five per cent. on German and foreign linens:—the American market has latterly been a very bad one—the Americans having began to make their own linens. Should this duty, which nearly amounts to a prohibition on foreign linens, be ever repealed, the Engliſh market is for ever loſt to the Iriſh linen manufacturer!

tacked

Digitized by Google

tacked the College of Dublin, particularly that bye-law which excluded non-conformists from preferment. I find that, upon a conference between the two houses relative to the constitutional rights of the Irish nation, Patrick Darcy, a leading Catholic member, was appointed Prolocutor on the occasion: and that they condemned all the powers assumed by Lord Strafford, which they termed "illegal practices introduced by him." I also find that this House of Commons disbanded that large * Irish army which he had raised; and that they refused to allow the king to permit them to enlist in a foreign service, but suffered them to be disbanded in Ireland—ready instruments for rebellion. And, finally, I find by the Irish Commons Journals, of the same year, that a solemn determination as to the rights of Irish subjects, was drawn up by the two houses of Parliament, and forwarded to the Committee of Irish Agents in London, to be laid before the King for his ratification: and that these agents having returned to Ireland in August 1641, with a full confirmation from Charles, of all these popular bills, graces, and concessions, the Parliament was prorogued.

And no doubt we may suppose, that the members retired to their country seats to receive the congratulations of their constituents, and to witness the effusions of popular gratitude, for these important concessions from the crown.

At the close of this session, the Catholic party in Parliament (one of the most leading members of which was the Lord Maguire, who, in the rebellion of this year, was to have commanded the attack upon the Castle of Dublin), and their coadjutors, the Puritanic party, had obtained from Charles such an ample redress of Irish grievances, as left the factious without any reasonable pretence for discontent; and which gave the most sincere satisfaction to those dupes of the latter party, who flattered themselves, that the rights which they had asserted, would give general contentment, and ensure the tranquillity of the kingdom †.

---

* These men were Catholics officered by Protestants.—See Sir J. Temple.—This was the last Catholic standing army in the service of a King of England, raised in Ireland, until the embodying of the Irish Militia in 1793. I defy Mr. Plowden to disprove this fact—from the time of Cromwell until the period I speak of, the army of Ireland was Protestant, or if a Catholic enlisted, he passed as a Protestant—went to Church, and became as zealous and good a Protestant as any of his fellow-soldiers.

† See Leland, Hume, Temple, Rushworth, Nalson, Carte, Sir R. Cox, and Dr. Borlace.

Upon

Digitized by Google

Upon the twenty-third of October following, (not three months after the prorogation) the horrible maſſacre and rebellion of 1641, took place.

I am as willing as Mr. Plowden, though poſſibly our motives may be different, to draw a veil over the horrors of that diſgraceful period, the traditions of the cruelties of which, (in ſome meaſure revived by recent events) do not fail to operate, after the lapſe of more than a century and a half, upon the Proteſtant mind in Ireland. I think it now of little importance to aſcertain whether, as according to Sir J. Temple, * 154,000 men, women, and children, in Ulſter alone; or, as according to Doctor Warner, 4020 only were maſſacred, and 8000 ſtarved in the two firſt months of this rebellion: perhaps the truth may lie between. The barbarity and authenticity of the fact, is equally undenied.

Let us now proceed to diſcover, from the confeſſions of the parties implicated, (ſince Mr. Plowden has interdicted all reference to the hiſtorians of credit) what was the cauſe and the object of this bloody conſpiracy?

Out of their own mouths we have this admiſſion, that its object was to extirpate the Engliſh nation, and the Proteſtant religion, out of their country; and that it was fomented by religious bigotry, and nouriſhed by the rooted averſion of the native Catholic Iriſh to the Engliſh deſcendents.

From "the examination of Doctor Jones," a manuſcript, now preſerved in Trinity College, in the City of Dublin, we learn, that early in the month of October, before the rebellion broke out, a very conſiderable meeting of the principal Romiſh eccleſiaſtics, and ſome of the leaders of the conſpiracy, was held in the County of Weſtmeath, at the Great Abbey of Multifarnam; where, amongſt other ſubjects of debate, one great queſtion was, what they ſhould do with the Engliſh and Iriſh Proteſtants, as ſoon as they ſhould be in their power? Some were for expelling them as the Spaniards had the Moors; others objected to this policy, on the grounds, that if the Engliſh were expelled, they would return, with ten-fold vengeance, from England, againſt them.—At length it was reſolved, that a general maſſacre was the only ſure and ſafe mode of getting rid of the Engliſh and the Proteſtants; and it was reſolved upon. Such is the account which Doctor Jones, when a priſoner among the rebels, received from a

* Sir J. Temple, p. 114.—Sir W. Petty, who had ſurveyed Ireland ſoon after this horrid event, eſtimates in his Political Anatomy, the number murdered at thirty-ſeven thouſand—others give different numbers.

Digitized by Google

Franciſcan friar of this aſſembly, of which he acknowledged he was a member, and that he took his ſhare in the deliberations*. What then becomes of Mr. Plowden's remark?—

" that there was no preconcerted ſyſtem or preparation for a riſing on the part of the Iriſh, when their moſt virulent libeller, Sir John Temple, admits that theſe rebels, at their firſt riſing, had only pitchforks, ſtaves, and ſcythes†."

What, does it follow, becauſe the manufacture of *pikes* was not then in the flouriſhing ſtate in which it has been lately in that kingdom, and becauſe the inſurgents were furniſhed with the beſt weapons they could procure, that we are to infer, in contradiction to ſuch evidence, that there was no preconcerted ſyſtem of inſurrection?

But let us look at Lord Maguire's examination, taken before the Council Chamber in Dublin, and acknowledged by him, while in the Tower, to be his free and open confeſſion, and as ſuch produced againſt him on his trial, and not objected to by him. In this he acknowledges, that in the *month of May*, preceding the rebellion, he and his party diſpatched a prieſt, one Toole O'Coole, who lived in Leinſter, unto Owen O'Neale, in Flanders, to acquaint him with the grand rebellion *then in preparation*, (at the very moment that the Catholic and Puritanic parties in Parliament were carrying every meaſure they propoſed) which ſaid prieſt returned about a month before the execution thereof; and the anſwer which the ſaid prieſt brought from the ſaid O'Neale was, that he would, within fifteen days after the people ſhould be ‡ UP, be with them with his beſt aſſiſtance and arms; and in another part of his examination, he ſays that " Roger Moore (the great conſpirator of the *Pale*) told him that if the Iriſh would riſe, they might make their own terms for the *regaining of their own lands*, and the freedom of their religion §." And in

* This depoſition of Doctor Jones is given in Cox's Appendix, p. 41. Sir J. Temple, in p. 76 of his hiſtory, mentions this conſultation as a fact of public notoriety, and a very full account of this meeting at the Abbey of Multifarnam is alſo given by Dr. Warner in his hiſtory, p. 70, book 2d.

N. B. There are thirty-two folio manuſcript volumes relative to this horrid rebellion of 1641, now in the Library of Trinity College Dublin. † Hiſt. Review, p. 138.

‡ The coincidence not only of the events but even of the phraſes of Iriſh rebellions is not a little remarkable:—at this day in Ireland " are you UP" means are you a rebel? " the people are UP" is the *cant* phraſe for an inſurrection.

§ See the State Trials, article " Trial of Lord Maguire for High Treaſon." *N. B.* He was hanged at Tyburn.

" Lord

Digitized by Google

* "Lord Maguire's Narrative," we find him declaring that Byrne, a Leinſter rebel leader, told him that the Pope was to ſend them a ſupply of money, that Owen O'Neale (who was in Flanders) had received the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of ſupport from Cardinal Richelieu; and that he, Byrne, had conferred with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and was ſure of ſupport from that Court; and that they all told their aſſociates, "that they were engaged in defence of the Catholic religion, and that every Catholic power muſt ſupport their cauſe of neceſſity". And he further declares, that they had opened their deſign to Lord Gormanſtown, and to ſome others of thoſe who had compoſed the Iriſh Committee in London; nor does he, in his Narrative, or in his examination, nor did he at his trial, mention one word of the Catholics being provoked to inſurrection by Strafford's ſeverity, or pretend that they had united in defence of the King's authority, againſt the Puritans: nay, ſo far was that from the caſe, that Sir Phelim O'Neale received orders from his party not to attack the Scottiſh ſettlers of the North, who were Puritans, and whoſe repreſentatives had been their zealous parliamentary allies.

If this had been a rebellion brought on even by the *remembrance* of Lord Strafford's arbitrary acts of power, after all grievances were redreſſed, why did not the Puritans join in it, and how came it to be *excluſively Catholic?* Wherefore did the Catholics butcher the unoffending Proteſtant men, women, and children in the North? What ſhare had they in the rigorous meaſures of Wentworth's government? Why? —But it were endleſs to proceed in ſuch a ſtrain of interrogation. I may now, therefore, venture to quote Leland again, upon whoſe authority (corroborated as it is by the confeſſions of the conſpirators) I truſt my readers will rely, rather than upon Mr. Plowden's. He ſays,

"The memoires of one Plunket, which lie among the manuſcripts in the Bodleian Library, aſſure us, with conſummate gravity, that the Earl of Ormond, having received private inſtructions from the King, to ſeize the perſons of the two Puritan Lords-Juſtices, that the Iriſh leaders had diſcovered this ſecret, and that the ſole object of their deſign was originally nothing more, than to run foremoſt in loyalty, and to ſnatch the merit of this ſervice from the Earl. The falſehood has been ſometimes ſhamefully adopted by Popiſh zealots, and ſometimes diſgraced their foreign publications." Vol. iii.

---

* Lord Maguire's narrative is given at full length in Dr. Warner, pp. 30 to 45. As it occupies fifteen pages folio, it is too long for inſertion.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Plowden *was probably misled* by this manuscript when he asserted (p. 139), "that the Catholics then, and ever since, considered themselves acting as royalists". From Lord Maguire's confession and narrative, and from Dr. Jones's examination, it is evident, that the leaders and actors in this rebellion did not entertain such an opinion!

But, however, if the massacre of an innumerable multitude of the King's unsuspecting Protestant subjects, in a time of profound peace, be a test of loyalty; if, like their worthy coadjutors, the Puritans of England, fighting *against* King Charles, in defence of his sacred person, his crown, and dignity, be a test of loyalty; if acting under the authority of the bull of Pope Urban VIII. which absolved them from their allegiance, and which gave a full and plenary indulgence, and entire remission of all sins, crimes, and delinquencies, how heinous soever, to those Irish, who, in imitation of their godly and worthy ancestors, endeavour, by force of arms, to deliver "their thralled country from the grievous empire of the heretics, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted and heavily burthened; and gallantly do in them what lieth, to extirpate, and totally root out, these workers of iniquity, who, in the kingdom of Ireland, had infected, and are always striving to infect, the mass of Catholic purity, with the pestiferous leaven of their heretical doctrine"*. If these be tests of loyalty, the Irish Catholics of that day were indeed *zealous* loyalists to—the Pope, I conceive, and not to Charles the First. (Appendix, No. V. second Part.)

And as to their "oath of confederacy," upon which Mr. Plowden so much insists, I beg to observe, that this Bull not only absolved them from their oath of allegiance, but from crimes of the blackest die; besides, quære, does it not contain a mental reservation? namely, "I swear to defend King Charles, his heirs, and successors, *as far as I may*." (Appendix, No. VI. to second Part.)

Having, I trust, refuted, to the entire satisfaction of *most* of my readers, two of Mr. Plowden's positions, the third only remains, namely, the charge that the Protestants of Ireland began the first massacre in November, by murdering, in cool blood, 3000 Irish in island Magee. Every writer admits, that the Irish massacre was commenced by Sir Phelim O'Neale in

---

* See this curious State Paper, or *Bull*, in the State Trials, Article "Lord Maguire's Trial for High Treason", in which it is given at full length.

October;

Digitized by Google

October; and yet this writer calls a maſſacre, which he admits took place in November following, the firſt maſſacre*.

The iſland Magee is a ſmall tract of land, three miles in length, and one mile in breadth, on the ſea-coaſt of the county of Antrim, which does not, as I am informed, contain, at this day, three hundred inhabitants of all ages and ſexes: how improbable, then, that in 1641 it ſhould contain three thouſand! Dr. Leland, in vol. iii. chap. 3, ſtates the fact to be (on the authority of ſome manuſcripts in Dublin College, entitled "Depoſitions of the County of Antrim"), "that in the month of March, 1642, the *Scottiſh* ſoldiers in the town of Carrickfergus, after the followers of Sir P. O'Neale had exhauſted their barbarous malice, iſſued one night into Iſland Magee, and put to death *thirty Iriſh families;* and, as if", ſays Leland, "this incident were not ſufficiently hideous, Popiſh writers have repreſented it with ſhocking aggravations; they make the number ſlaughtered in a ſmall and thinly inhabited neck of land amount to three thouſand: a wildneſs and abſurdity, into which other writers (namely, Lord Clarendon) have been betrayed." Why did Mr. Plowden overlook this part of Leland, of whoſe work he has made *ſuch good uſe?* Why did he alſo overlook Dr. Warner's able refutation of this calumny againſt the Iriſh Proteſtants, in pp. 114, 115 of his hiſtory of this rebellion?

The only material charge made by Mr. Plowden (for it were impoſſible, within the limits of theſe "Strictures", to expoſe every miſrepreſentation in his work) which remains to be anſwered, is that which relates to Ormond's conduct about the "ceſſation of arms", whom he accuſes of betraying the intereſts of his maſter, and of ſecretly practiſing with the Puritans of England. The anxiety of Charles for this ceſſation, and Ormond's delays and reluctance in concluding it, are eaſily accounted for. The King, whoſe affairs were declining

* There are ſome ſtriking coincidences in the three very memorable Iriſh rebellions of 1641, 1798, 1803; they all commenced on the ſame day of the month, namely, the 23d of October, the 23d of May, and 23d of July; and were conducted with ſuch ſecreſy, that the governments of Ireland in each caſe were taken unawares. In 1641, the caſtle gate was drawn up a few hours before Lord Maguire and his followers were to have ruſhed in. In 1798, the caſtle drum beat to arms *two* hours only before the rebel drum was to have given the ſignal for the attack upon Dublin. The events of the 23d of July are too recent to need a detail. All theſe inſurrections have been equally marked by the maſſacre of the unarmed and unoffending.

in

Digitized by Google

in England, was eager to be reinforced by the Iriſh army. Ormond, who never entertained an idea that the republican party in England would go to the length of murdering his royal maſter; and who apprehended, that by withdrawing a large force, in the preſent ſtate of the country, Ireland might be loſt to the Engliſh crown, oppoſed and delayed the ceſſation. He was thoroughly acquainted with the inveterate prejudices of the Iriſh; he deteſted the Catholics (Appendix, No. VII. to ſecond Part), whoſe conduct and practices at that day are indefenſible; and he was anxious to retain a ſufficient force to chaſtiſe them as they deſerved. But when at length, by the repeated orders from the King to ſign the ceſſation of arms with the Popiſh council of Kilkenny, he was obliged to comply, and to ſend over the Iriſh troops* which were defeated at Nantwich, without having done the royal cauſe any ſervice; he then continued, under every difficulty and diſadvantage, to ſtruggle for the intereſts of his maſter (Appendix, No. VIII. to ſecond Part), and for the preſervation of the Engliſh power in Ireland. Nor did he abandon either, until the total ruin of the royal cauſe, by the murder of the King: nay, ſo zealous was this great man † for the intereſts of his unfortunate maſter's ſon, and afterwards ſucceſſor, that he again returned to Ireland, in hopes of making a ſtand in that

---

* The Iriſh forces defeated at Nantwich were all Proteſtants; and moſt of the common men, after their defeat, went over to the parliamentary General. Hume informs us, that when they landed in Wales, ſuch was the terror of the Welſh at the very name of the Iriſh (a terror, by the by, which they feel to this day) that they deſerted the country, crying, "that the Iriſh Papiſts were come to cut their throats." The Parliament, by their orders for not giving quarter to the Iriſh, by ſea or land, encouraged theſe alarms. Hume, vol. vii.

† ——— Si veris magna paratur
Fama bonis, et ſi ſucceſſu nuda remoto
Inſpicitur virtus, quicquid laudamus in ullo
Majorum fortuna fuit. LUCAN*.

N. B. As to the Earl of Glamorgan's commiſſion; ſee a ſatisfactory account of that tranſaction, and of Ormond's exculpation, in Hume, vol. vii. with the note (B) at the end of the volume relative to that tranſaction. Hume quotes Ruſhworth and Dr. Birch. Dr. Warner, in Book V. condemns the King for this commiſſion to Glamorgan, but exculpates Ormond fully.

* See the great character given of the Marquis of Ormond, by Dr. Warner, Book IV. pp. 267, 519; "than whom", he ſays, "there was not an honeſter or an abler man of his time."

kingdom

Digitized by Google

kingdom againſt the uſurped power of the Parliament. But all his hopes and plans were defeated, by the folly, the arrogance, and the unreaſonable demands of the Catholic council of Kilkenny, ſolely ſwayed and directed by the bigoted and ignorant Popiſh eccleſiaſtics*.

Here then was an opportunity offered, " when the Iriſh Catholics of that day *might* have given no ſmall or equivocal marks of that eminent loyalty and fidelity", which Mr. Plowden attributes to them, by generouſly ſtepping forward in ſupport of Charles the Second, without propoſing to Ormond terms, limitations, and conditions, to which neither his honour or the intereſt of his prince allowed him to conſent. Inſtead of this, Ormond was once more obliged to abandon a country, the rebellion of whoſe Popiſh inhabitants had been ſo very † inſtrumental to the murder of his ſovereign; and he left them to that memorable chaſtiſement, which they ſoon after received from Oliver Cromwell, and which, for their diſloyalty and their crimes, they had ſo juſtly merited.

The Iriſh Catholics of that age may, indeed, claim the merit of having been the ‡ firſt in arms againſt the beſt prince of the Houſe of Stuart, Charles the Firſt; and the laſt in arms in ſupport of the worſt, James the Second.

I ſhall paſs over the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, and all the abominable acts of that bloody uſurpation, by ſimply remarking, that Oliver preſerved Ireland to the Britiſh Crown, and firſt actually accompliſhed a legiſlative union of the two kingdoms. For Ludlow, in his Memoirs, informs us, that by the famous " inſtrument of government", drawn up by Cromwell, a Parliament was ſummoned for the three kingdoms, now united into one Commonwealth, that thirty members were allotted to Ireland, who were elected accordingly, and ſat as repreſentatives of that kingdom, in the Parliament held at Weſtminſter§."

---

* See Whitelock, Carte, Coxe, Ruſhworth, Leland. Dr. Warner, Book VI. p. 380, ſays, " all the Catholics of that kingdom, except very few, were then (A. D. 1646) prieſt-ridden; and to the ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion which they paid to their eccleſiaſtics, their own entire ruin, if not that of the King, was owing.

† By the uſe which the Parliament made of this event, to blacken the King's character.

‡ See Hiſt. Review, p. 131, laſt line.

§ See Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 497, edition printed at Vivay, in Switzerland.

In

Digitized by Google

In Mr. Plowden's elementary ſketch (as he calls his political caricaturas) of Charles the Second's reign, I find a continuation of the ſame, not only improbable, but unfounded charges againſt the great Duke of Ormond, of his ſecretly practiſing with the Puritans, and of his having received a * bribe for the ſurrender of Dublin. I meet, in every page, the ſame abſurd repetition of the fidelity of the Iriſh Catholics to Charles the Second, and to his father; and of the unmerited ſufferings " of thoſe † martyrs to royalty", as this writer is pleaſed to ſtyle them.

" If ever", ſays this gentleman, " ‡ Ireland (i. e. the Catholic part of it) had a *call* of gratitude upon the crown of England, it was at the *reſtauration* of Charles the Second."

Had Charles the Second rewarded that claſs of his Iriſh ſubjects, whoſe rebellions had been ſo very inſtrumental in bringing his father to the block, he would have been an unnatural monſter; and, if he had had the § folly to make ſuch an attempt, the Proteſtant Parliaments of both kingdoms would certainly have put their *veto* to the meaſure; and moreover, in

---

* Ormond had expended in the King's ſervice, 13,877l. of his own money. Before he reſigned Dublin, the Parliamentarians agreed to pay him 3000l. and to ſecure the reſt, which he never received from them. As to the penſion of 3000l. per annum, paid by Cromwell to his Ducheſs, Mr. Plowden produces no authority for his aſſertion, which I conceive it would have been difficult for him to have done. Ormond is certainly guilty of having prefered to ſurrender Dublin to the forces of the Engliſh Parliament, rather than to the Iriſh rebels: of courſe, the Catholic hiſtorians bore him no good will; hinc illæ lacrymæ; and, for ſurrendering Dublin, he had the King's order *in writing*, which he produced to the Lord Mayor. Secret Conſults, p. 642.

† Hiſt. Review, p. 169, " devoted victims to their loyalty."

‡ His readers muſt carry in mind, that by " Ireland", " Iriſh nation", &c. &c. Mr. Plowden means the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland, which, in this age, he repreſents as an hundred to one Proteſtant. Sir W. Petty ſays, they were *then* fifteen to one; and at this day, A. D. 1803, by their own political arithmetic, they are four to one, i. e. *admitting* that there are five millions of people in Ireland!

§ If the *curious* reader will turn to Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 539, and to the Appendix, pp. 111 and 118, he will ſee, that Charles II. in conjunction with his brother, had very ſerious intentions of rewarding theſe *faithful friends* of his family, when death, luckily for him, put a ſtop to his project. His ſucceſſor tried the experiment, we know with what ſucceſs!

all

Digitized by Google

all probability, Charles, like his bigoted brother, would have been forced to end his days in exile.

It is very ſurpriſing, that in all Mr. Plowden's charges againſt the Houſe of Stuart, for their ingratitude to their *zealous* friends, by indulging that unnatural propenſity of theirs, namely, "their family paſſion for rewarding their enemies", (p. 170), he ſeems moſt unaccountably to have forgotten, what a powerful check Parliaments have upon a King of England. Had he recollected this circumſtance, he muſt in candour have taken half the weight of ingratitude off of their ſhoulders, and laid it at the door of theſe aſſemblies; and, even in this caſe, to ſuppoſe our anceſtors to have been ſuch blockheads and drivellers, as not to have been able to diſtinguiſh between their friends and their enemies, is a propoſition to which, notwithſtanding my very profound reverence for the great diſcoveries of certain modern politicians, I cannot be brought to give my aſſent.

And, with reſpect to this writer's complaint (p. 166), "of the unwarrantable practice of moſt of our Engliſh authors, to brand the Iriſh nation (i. e. the Catholics) with too haſty and unneceſſary ſubmiſſion to the arms of Cromwell", I am ready to clear them from this imputation. They ſubmitted to Cromwell from neceſſity, as Iriſh rebels muſt ever be compelled to do, to a powerful Engliſh army, commanded by an able and experienced General. And, with regard to his next complaint, againſt what he is pleaſed to call (p. 169)

"the adulatory incenſe of gratitude thrown up to the ſhrine of Cromwell, for having reduced the only *perſevering royaliſts* under his ſubjection, which bids bold defiance to aſtoniſhment",

namely, the aſſertion of the late Lord Clare, in his Speech upon the Union, "that it would have been an act of groſs injuſtice on the part of the King to have overlooked the intereſt of Cromwell's ſoldiers and adventurers, who had been put in poſſeſſion of the confiſcated lands in Ireland", I muſt admit "that the conduct of our anceſtors would indeed have baffled all conjecture." (ibid.) If, on the reſtauration of Charles the Second, they had diſpoſſeſſed of their lands, thoſe ſoldiers and adventurers who had fought and bled for the preſervation of Ireland to the Engliſh crown, and given back their confiſcated eſtates to thoſe rebels, who had forfeited them by their treaſons, and the object of whoſe rebellions had been to root out the Engliſh nation from Ireland.

In a word, all the meaſures of ſeverity towards the Iriſh Catholics, purſued during this reign, took place in conſequence

Digitized by Google

quence of their rebellion; and they were meaſures of ſelf-preſervation, which the whole tenor of their conduct, ſince the reign of Elizabeth, had rendered indiſpenſable for the ſafety of the Proteſtants of Ireland, and the exiſtence of the Engliſh power in that country.

That ſome violence, as well as injuſtice, took place in the proceedings of the Court of Claims, and in conſequence of the Act of Settlement, I freely admit; but violence and injuſtice are inſeparable from all conteſts, in which the paſſions of men are violently inflamed on both ſides.

I am now arrived at the reign of James II. the only prince of the Houſe of Stuart, whoſe errors Mr. Plowden (in ſpite of ſome gloſſing ſentences of condemnation) appears to extenuate*.

As in the reign of this miſguided monarch the Catholics of Ireland were inveſted with the whole adminiſtration of Iriſh government, it behoves me to examine, with ſome attention, the uſe they made of their political power. Mr. Plowden begins, by attempting † to diſcredit Dr. King's famous book, "the State of the Proteſtants of Ireland under King James"; and this he clumſily endeavours to do, by quoting Dean Swift's opinion of the *private character* of Mr. Leſlie, who wrote a book in anſwer to King's, which was ſuppreſſed on account of its ſedition. Swift admits that Leſlie was a good man conſcientiouſly miſtaken, in refuſing to take the oaths to King William. He ſays, "Mr. Leſlie was unhappily miſtaken in his politics"; and, had Mr. P. quoted Swift accurately, he would have added this ſentence‡: "I deteſt Mr. Leſlie's politics as much as his Lordſhip (Burnet) can do from his heart; but I diſtinguiſh between the principles and the man". Until, therefore, ſome better reaſons than thoſe offered by Mr. P. are produced againſt Dr. King's book, I ſhall conſider myſelf warranted in aſſuring my readers, that his work has been always eſteemed moſt authentic.

The firſt remarkable act of James's government in Ireland, was to diſplace the great Duke of Ormond, in order to pave the way for his bigoted favourite, Richard Talbot, afterwards created Earl of Tyrconnel; though the pretence was, that Ormond's age and infirmities rendered him incapable of govern-

---

* See paſſim his Review of this reign.
† See his note to p. 177.
‡ See Swift's Preface to Biſhop Burnet's Introduction.

ing.

Digitized by Google

ing. Before he reſigned the ſword of ſtate, the Duke of Ormond gave a dinner to his officers, at the royal hoſpital near Dublin, a building which he had erected for old ſoldiers. After the cloth was removed, filling his glaſs to the brim, and deſiring his gueſts to do the ſame, he made them this ſpeech*: "Look here, gentlemen, they ſay at court that I am now become an old doating fool; you ſee my hand doth not ſhake, not does my heart fail; nor doubt but I will make ſome of them ſee their miſtake"; and then gave the King's health.

To return to the hiſtorical review of this reign. Mr. Plowden, after admitting "that the army was filled with Catholic officers", and he might have added men, the whole Proteſtant militia raiſed by Ormond having been diſarmed, and Catholics embodied in their place†; "the Bench filled with Catholic Judges", except three, who promiſed to be ſubſervient; he might have added, that Porter, the Chancellor, was diſplaced, and a Catholic, Sir N. Fitton, put into his place; a man, ſays the author of Secret Conſults and Intrigues, notorious on record, having been convicted of forgery, and publicly ſtigmatized; "the corporations filled with Catholic members"; he might have added, Tyrconnel having terrified them into a ſurrender of their charters; "Catholic Sheriffs and Magiſtrates appointed in all the counties"; he might alſo have added, who refuſed to adminiſter juſtice to the Proteſtants, and moreover harraſſed them with every ſpecies of vexatious tyranny. He might have informed his readers alſo, that the prieſts ſtirred up the Iriſh not to pay tithes to the Proteſtant clergy; that crown proſecutions were commenced againſt all Proteſtants who had, in their convivial meetings, uttered any reflections upon James, while Duke of York: he might have told his readers, that the Papiſts pretended an ‡ univerſal dread of a maſſacre; in conſequence of which, all the Proteſtants of Ireland were diſarmed, thoſe of the North excepted, who were too ſturdy to part with their arms; that the Privy Council was filled with Papiſts, and ſome lawyers of the *outer bar*

* Secret Conſults and Intrigues, p. 630, of State Tracts, printed in 1706, London, and Appendix, p. 615. Ormond ſoon after died of a broken heart.

† Though they had bought their own arms; yet, when deſired to bring them in, they complied. See Harris, p. 189; Leland, King, &c. &c.

‡ This old trick was played in the rebellion of 1798, when the Catholics affected to dread being maſſacred by the Orangemen.

of

Digitized by Google

of that perſuaſion advanced to that honour*. And then it was, and let it be had in perpetual remembrance by future innovators on the Iriſh conſtitution†, "that moſt of the traders, and others whoſe fortunes could be eaſily transferred, fled from a country in which they expected a ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of Popery, and a *general tranſmutation of property*."

Tyrconnel, and the Catholic government of Ireland, having taken theſe violent and unjuſtifiable meaſures, then it was, according to Mr. Plowden, "that the Catholics, *now* feeling themſelves ſecure, *at leaſt in the freedom of their religion*, prevailed on Tyrconnel to go to England, in order to bring over the King to their favourite meaſure, of breaking through the Act of Settlement". If this writer ſpeaks the ſentiments of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, which I hope he does not, and if ſuch meaſures only could make their anceſtors feel ſecure, *at leaſt* in the freedom of their religion, what opinion muſt they now entertain of their ſecurity, when, though every diſablility incompatible with the fulleſt enjoyment of civil and religious liberty is happily removed, they as yet poſſeſs little ſhare of the political power of the ſtate, which is in the hands of a Proteſtant government?

His ſtatement then, unfortunately for the cauſe he ſupports, amounts to this, that the Catholics of Ireland, having obtained into their hands the political power of the ſtate, proceeded, with indecent ‡ haſte, to make the Bench, the Privy Council, the Sheriffs and Magiſtrates, the corporations, and the army Catholic in all their branches; and that then, "feeling themſelves ſecure, *at leaſt* in the freedom of their religion", inſtead of ſtopping here, their next immediate object was, to ſeize upon all the Proteſtant property of that country, by breaking through the "Act of Settlement", &c. Though Mr. Plowden admits this laſt fact, yet, as he has paſſed over the particulars of the tranſaction, *currente calamo*, I muſt entreat the *attention* of my readers to the account of this memorable pro-

* All the facts here enumerated, and which were omitted in Mr. Plowden's work, are ſtated by Tindal, Mackenzie, Harris, King, Leland, and by the writer of Secret Conſults, &c.

† See Hiſt. Review, p. 178. This hiſtorical fact, which Mr. Plowden admits, is mentioned by every writer of this period of Iriſh hiſtory: thouſands fled to England, and five hundred went to North America and the Weſt Indies. Secret Conſults, Leland, &c. &c.

‡ "Let my countrymen alone", ſaid the great Duke of Ormond, ſpeaking of their precipitation, "they will ruin their own buſineſs." Secret Conſults, p. 633.

ceeding:

Digitized by Google

ceeding; a meaſure, by the bye, which theſe dutiful loyaliſts, who, by King James's account (p. 189), " rammed that, and many other things, down his throat," forced him to conſent to.

On the 7th of May, A. D. 1689, the Catholic Parliament met. The Popiſh Biſhop of Clogher, the Caſtle Secretary, wrote * circular letters to all the Sheriffs, with the writs of election, naming the perſons who were to be returned, and who were † elected accordingly. The ‡ firſt Act of this Parliament was a recognition of the King's title to the crown of Ireland. The next meaſure was the introduction of an Act § for the Repeal of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; which they paſſed through the Houſe of Commons in *three days*, without allowing one of the thouſand ſufferers by it to appeal ‖. Dr. Dopping, the Biſhop of Meath, boldly argued againſt it, in the Houſe of Lords, in vain. A ſtrong remonſtrance againſt the cruelty and injuſtice of the meaſure was drawn up by Judge Keating, and preſented to James, by the Earl of Granard, in vain.

This Act of Repeal ¶ contains, in the Preamble, a full juſtification of the horrid rebellion of 1641. By this Act, the eſtates and properties of all perſons who were *in rebellion*, in Ireland, Scotland, or England, againſt King James, on the firſt of Auguſt, 1688, *or who had* ** *correſponded with rebels* ſince

---

* The manner in which this Catholic Parliament was " packed", to uſe Mr. Plowden's phraſe, is, I believe, unexampled by any proceeding of the like kind, during any former or latter Proteſtant Parliament in Ireland. See Secret Conſults, Dr. King, Harris, Tindal, Leland.

† In this Parliament, there were but twelve Proteſtants in both Houſes; namely, five Lords, three Biſhops, two members for the College, and four Proteſtant commoners returned for other places. Harris, Leland, Dr. King.

‡ Leland, p. 536; Harris, Book viii. p. 227; and King.

§ See Harris, p. 228; Leland. The Act is given by Harris, in his Appendix.

‖ Ibid.

¶ See Harris's remarks on the Preamble to this Bill, Book viii. p. 229.

** By which clauſe, ſays Harris, almoſt every Proteſtant in the kingdom who could write had forfeited his eſtate; for the pacquets going conſtantly between Dublin and London, from Auguſt to March, 1689, few had friends in England or the North but correſponded with them. Every pacquet during that time was ſearched, and

Digitized by Google

ſince that time, were forfeited; and this Act confiſcated the inheritance where the poſſeſſors were only tenants for life, and made them puniſhable for waſte, after a poſſeſſion of above twenty years, under two Acts of Parliament. The perſonal properties of thoſe who were abſent, were ſeized by the Catholic commiſſioners of the revenue for the King; and there is a proviſion in the Act, by which thoſe who were in poſſeſſion as truſtees were bound, under ſevere penalties, to make a full diſcloſure. Next was paſſed, the celebrated Act of Attainder, in which * two thouſand four hundred and ſixty-one Proteſtants, of *both ſexes*, are attainted by name; amongſt them, the Abſenteeſ†, uſually reſident in Great Britain, unleſs they manifeſted their allegiance to James before the firſt of October next enſuing; which manifeſtation of their allegiance would have made them traitors in England. This Act alſo veſted in the crown the real and perſonal properties of all minors, unleſs the term after they came of age they proved their loyalty; and theſe loyal and dutiful ſubjects alſo, in this Parliament, limited *their* King's prerogative, by enacting, that all pardons not enrolled before the 30th of November, 1689, were null and void; and further, that no letters patent for pardons ſhould contain the name of more than *one* perſon.

After this recital, it is ſcarcely worth mentioning, that the Proteſtant Fellows and ſcholars of Trinity College, Dublin, were diſpoſſeſſed; their plate, &c. &c. ſeized; and Friars and Jeſuits put into their places; the proviſions for the Proteſtant clergy repealed, and their arrears cut off; that the biſhoprics were ſeized, and their revenues paid into the Exchequer; the Proteſtants, of every claſs and rank, robbed with impunity by

---

and vaſt heaps of letters laid by, which were now produced in evidence, in the Houſe of Commons, againſt ſuch as appeared on behalf of their abſent friends. Harris, p. 229; Leland; King; Secret Conſults.

N. B. It was not till September, that the intention of William's deſcent upon England was generally known; but any letter containing remarks upon public affairs diſpleaſing to thoſe in power, was evidence to prove rebellion againſt the writer!!!

* See Appendix to Harris's Life of King William, No. 34, where an alphabetical liſt of the names of the perſons attainted is given, taken from the Act of Attainder, in the Rolls' Office, in Ireland.

† See an authentic copy of the Act of Attainder, taken from the Rolls' Office, in the Iriſh Chancery, in the Appendix to Harris, No. 34.

" the

Digitized by Google

" the Rapparees"; and that finally they were forbidden, on pain of death, to meet in any number exceeding *two**.

Can any one, therefore, who makes the ſmalleſt allowance for the feelings and paſſions of human nature, wonder, that ſuch of the Proteſtants of Ireland who ſcorned to follow the timid example of ſo many thouſands of their countrymen, who fled from this proſcription, but determined † " courageouſly to abide *the brunt*", ſhould have ‡ *aſſociated* for their defence againſt ſuch a government? Can we wonder that the citizens of Derry ſhould have ſhut their gates againſt an armed rabble, who were not even clothed in the uniform of that King, who, in his memorable Declaration to his ſubjects of Ireland, told them, " that he had made it his chief concern to ſatisfy the minds of his Proteſtant ſubjects; that the defence of their religion, privileges, and properties was equally his care with the recovery of his rights"? Are we to make no allowances for the effect occaſioned by the anonymous letter § (whether true or falſe) which Lord Mount-Alexander received, of an intended maſſacre? Can we be aſtoniſhed at its influence upon men, many of whom had eſcaped from, and all of whom had heard of, the maſſacre in 1641? Can we, *at this day*, doubt, that the Proteſtants of Ireland, who had witneſſed the horrible cruelty of Mareſchal Roſen (a German officer in James's ſervice) in collecting the inhabitants, of all ages and each ſex, of their faction, as he

---

* Harris; Leland; King; Mackenzie's Narrative.

N. B. James eſtabliſhed a mint in Dublin, and another in Limerick. Bits of braſs, and broken bells, and old iron, pots, and pans, and kettles, and pewter ſpoons, &c. were collected; and, from every pound of theſe materials, value *four pence*, pieces were coined, and circulated at the nominal value of five pounds, and were made current by proclamation! See Simon on Iriſh Coins.

† See Apology for the Proteſtants, State Tracts, vol. iii. p. 666.

‡ In their oath of aſſociation (ſee Harris, p. 195) they declare, that they only have armed in ſelf-defence, to act in ſubordination to the government of England, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, their lives, properties, and liberties; that they would admit none but Proteſtants into their aſſociations; yet that they would defend even Papiſts from violence, whilſt they remained peaceable and quiet. The Iriſh Proteſtants have never been accuſed of profeſſing one object and acting upon another. The preſent Orangemen of Ireland are aſſociated upon the ſame principles.

§ See a copy of it in Harris, Appendix, No. 21.

called

Digitized by Google

called them, in the county of Londonderry, and driving them under the walls of a beſieged town, where they were ſlaughtered by the fire on both ſides; and, when the Biſhop of Meath ventured to remonſtrate to James, he replied, "that * General Roſen was a foreigner, and uſed to ſuch proceedings as were ſtrange to his ſubjects, but uſual in other places; and, if he had been his own ſubject, he would have called him to an account for it". Can we (I repeat it) *at this day doubt*, that the Proteſtants of Ireland were fully juſtifiable in reſiſting ſuch a prince and ſuch an army? Had they tamely ſubmitted to ſuch a government, they would have been unworthy of that liberty which they obtained, and have tranſmitted to the people of Ireland. What, let me aſk, what would have been the ſituation of the Catholics of that country at this day, if the Proteſtants of that age had not oppoſed James, and ſupported the glorious Revolution of 1688? Let them then candidly acknowledge the † errors of their anceſtors, and let their advocates ceaſe to vilify thoſe who purchaſed with their blood, the bleſſings of that free conſtitution, of which they now ſo largely participate.

The only material argument in this chapter (if ſuch a poſition coming from a lawyer deſerves the name) that remains to be anſwered, is the following, ‡ that the Proteſtants of Ireland who declared for King William were rebels to their *lawful* King, and that the Catholics who adhered to James were faithful loyaliſts, and good and true ſubjects; becauſe, as he argues, though James abdicated the throne of England, he never did (until after the battle of the Boyne) abdicate the throne of Ireland: ergo, he was (p. 181) "*de jure et de facto*," King of that country.

Before this lawyer, writing upon the affairs of Ireland, ventured to hazard ſuch an aſſertion, it would have been prudent in him to have looked at an Iriſh Act of Parliament, paſſed in the reign of Henry VIII. *ſtill unrepealed*, and which he might have found in the firſt volume of the Iriſh Statutes, p. 176; by the peruſal of which, he would have diſcovered, that a King of England is declared to be *in that right only* King of Ireland, as united and knit to the crown of England;

* Harris, p. 210; ſee the other writers alſo.

† I have met with many enlightened Catholic gentlemen of Ireland, who have freely admitted the errors of their anceſtors, and who have alſo lamented the miſguided conduct of ſo many of their perſuaſion in 1798.

‡ Hiſt. Review, p. 187, et ſequentes.

Digitized by Google

land, had he read as far as the *ſecond ſection* of the ſaid Act, he would have learned, that it is alſo enacted, that if anie perſon or perſons * *reſiant* within the land of Ireland, ſhall, after the firſt of July, 1542, by writing, or *imprinting*, or anie exterior act or deed, occaſion diſturbance of the King's title, &c. he or they are guilty of high treaſon, and ſhall ſuffer death, forfeiture of lands, &c. &c. By this Act, therefore, the people of Ireland, the moment that James abdicated the throne of England, and that the Convention-parliament choſe William as his ſucceſſor, were abſolved from their allegiance to James, and were bound to King William; and Fitton, Neagle, and the other Catholic lawyers of that age, were ſo fully aware of the force of this ſaid ſtatute of Henry VIII. that we find the firſt Act of the Popiſh Parliament of 1689 was a recognition of James's title to the crown of Ireland; a meaſure which, but for the exiſtence of the ſaid ſtatute, would have been perfectly uſeleſs. But theſe gentlemen, who underſtood the laws of Ireland ſomewhat better than Mr. Plowden, ſaw how defective James's title to the crown of Ireland became, upon his abdication of that of England; and therefore they very ingeniouſly reſorted to this expedient to prop it, and to impoſe upon the ignorant and the vulgar.

If I rightly underſtand Mr. Plowden's argument in this chapter, it may be epitomized thus. The Roman Catholics of Ireland, in 1689, were faithful ſubjects, and the Proteſtants were rebels; and the *ſaid rebels*, having ſoundly beaten the ſaid loyal ſubjects, forced them to reſtore all the lands of which they had deprived the *ſaid rebels*, by their acts of repeal and attainder; and that, *ergo*, the deſcendents of the *ſaid rebels*, and all recent purchaſers ſince, hold lands in Ireland, to which the title is, that they were acquired by force of arms, under "a foreign invader", † or "revolutionary prince", fighting againſt the lawful King of Ireland.

C'eſt le ton qui fait la muſique.

Let us paſs on, then, to the reign of this "foreign invader", this "revolutionary prince", the great King William, of im-

* As Mr. Plowden wrote his book in this country, his friends need not be alarmed for his ſafety. If he ſhould think proper to print a cheap edition of his work in Ireland, it might be prudent to omit *this law argument*.

† So King William is ſtyled, in pp. 186 and 192 of this Hiſtorical Review, vol. i. In Ireland, a Catholic writer has lately ſtyled him a Dutch invader!

Digitized by Google

mortal memory; " * the moſt illuſtrious benefactor of Europe; who, having been made Stadtholder of Holland for the ſalvation of his own country, was ſoon after made King of England for the deliverance of our's."

The only obſervations made in this chapter worth noticing are, firſt, " that it appears to have been the ſyſtematic policy of England, in this reign, to extinguiſh the very idea of an independent legiſlature in Ireland". If that were the caſe, Mr. Plowden gives no very ſtrong proof of the ſucceſs of this object, in pages 198, 200, where we find the Iriſh Houſes of Parliament rejecting with indignation a money-bill, which had not originated with them, but had been tranſmitted from England. Upon this occaſion, Mr. Molyneux publiſhed his famous book, which the Commons of England took up with ſo high an hand. I ſhall not now diſcuſs the merits of this controverſy, or advert to the ſubſequent ſtruggles between the Parliaments of both countries, of which it laid the foundation. Mr. Molyneux was the firſt champion for " Iriſh independence"; that † independent dependency, that dream of power, " that anomaly in politics", the ſource of eternal jealouſies between the two kingdoms, and containing the ſeeds of diſunion, now happily deſtroyed by the incorporation of the legiſlatures.

(P. 198.) " In no one ſenſe did the Revolution of 1688 open to Ireland any of thoſe conſtitutional bleſſings which were expected", &c. is Mr. Plowden's next obſervation. The Revolution of 1688 delivered that kingdom from arbitrary power, and gave to its inhabitants all the civil privileges of our free conſtitution. That it ‡ " ſhut the Catholics out of the field of politics", as Mr. Plowden expreſſes it, is not to be wondered at, conſidering the temper of mens' minds, both in England and Ireland, at that time, the violence of parties, and the uſe which the Iriſh Catholics had made of their ſhort-lived power during the reign of James; nay, I am of opinion, that candid men may have reaſon to wonder at the moderation

* Mackintoſh's Defence of Peltier.

† Previous to 1782, the Iriſh Parliaments could do little more than regiſter the acts of the Britiſh miniſtry. Since that period, were their powers, except for local legiſlation, much more extenſive?

‡ Hiſt. Review, p. 198. It deſerves to be remarked, that, whilſt the Iriſh Catholics were ſhut out of *this field*, they never ventured into the field of battle.

of

Digitized by Google

of the triumphant party in the latter kingdom*, (Appendix, No. IX. to second Part.)

Let us proceed to the reign of Queen Anne, the last monarch of that house of Stuart to which Mr. Plowden seems to have such a violent enmity. And here I must remark, that I cannot see either the prudence or the policy of giving so minute † a detail (accompanied by his own and Mr. Burke's severe animadversions) of the old code of penal laws against the Irish Catholics. If his object be to conciliate the present race of that persuasion, by an exaggerated picture of the sufferings of their ancestors, I apprehend he will be very unsuccessful. If, by informing them, that their *loyal* progenitors were dispossessed of their properties, for adhering to their *lawful* King, against *rebels*, headed by a "foreign invader", he hopes to persuade them not to attempt to disturb the present Protestant possessors of lands in Ireland, I fear he will not succeed. If he flatters himself, that by informing an irritable people, (p. 205) "that it has been the fate of their country to experience more harshness from the English government than any other part of the empire", he has taken the best mode of reconciling them to the Union, "which is the primary object of his publication"; how lamentable it is to reflect, that these excellent intentions are so likely to be disappointed!

---

* The penal Acts of this reign against the Irish Catholics were, "an Act to restrain foreign Education", 7th William, chap. 4; "an Act for better securing the Government, by disarming Papists", 7 Will. chap. 5; "an Act for *banishing* all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical Jurisdiction", 9 Will. chap. 1.

(N. B. In King William's reign, seventh year, an Act was passed, to take away the writ *de heretico comburendo*, revived by the Catholic Parliament of James II. so that the Protestant Parliament of Ireland in this reign was content with *banishing priests* only. The Catholic Irish Parliament, which preceded, thought it the best policy to *burn all heretics!*) "An Act to prevent Protestant Heiresses marrying Papists", the penalty, forfeiture of property to the next of kin, 9 Will. chap. 3; "An Act to prevent Papists being Solicitors", 10 Will. chap. 13.

In the ninth year of this reign, "an Act passed for the Confirmation of the Articles of Limerick", and to restore those to their lands who had been dispossessed contrary to them.

Contrast these Acts with those in our own Statute Book, passed in King William's reign, and not introduced into Ireland until the next reign, when the restless machinations of the Irish Catholics made them indispensable.

† Although he professes to avoid the subject.

Digitized by Google

Why this perpetual recurrence to old grievances and diſabilities long ſince removed? The gratitude which ſhould be felt by the preſent generation of Roman Catholics at the repeal of the Popery Laws, ought to have obliterated all remembrance of the preſſure of them upon their forefathers.

"The Penal Laws", ſaid the late Lord Clare in his Speech in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords in 1793, "enacted in this country to abridge the power and influence of the old Iriſh Catholics, was a code forced upon the Parliament of Ireland by hard neceſſity; a code, which was dictated by ſelf-defence and ſelf-preſervation, and has from time to time been relaxed with an open and unſuſpecting liberality, which has been but ill-requited by that body of men who have profited by it.—*A code*, to which I do not ſcruple to ſay, Ireland ſtands indebted, in a great meaſure, for her internal tranquillity during the laſt century. Let modern philoſophers and mathematicians who exclaim againſt this code as ſubverting the immutable principles of ſentiment and fraternity, and the impreſcriptable rights of man, condeſcend to look at the ſituation of the Proteſtant ſettlers in Ireland at the Revolution. They were a colony ſettled in an enemy's country, which had been reduced by the ſword to a ſullen and refractory allegiance. In numbers they did not make up one fourth of the inhabitants; the experience of a century had proved, that from an oppoſition of laws, cuſtoms, intereſts, and religion, the natives of the country had contracted a rooted and incurable averſion to them: they could not therefore ſtand their ground, unleſs by diſarming the enemies who ſurrounded them, and by cultivating the confidence and affection of the Britiſh nation; when I talk of diſarming their enemies, I do mean ſtripping them of offenſive weapons, if permanent tranquillity was their object, it was eſſential to diſarm the natives of Ireland of all political power*."

I ſhall not quote the remainder of this page in Lord Clare's Speech, becauſe I do not preſume, in any part of theſe "Strictures", to diſcuſs the policy of admitting Roman Catholics to a fuller participation of the political powers of the ſtate; I leave it to more practiſed politicians to determine whether any conceſſions, ſhort of a domineering political influence, and the eſtabliſhment of a ſplendid hierarchy, can fully ſatisfy all claſſes of that perſuaſion in Ireland. My object here, is to refute Mr. Plowden's erroneous poſitions, to correct his miſtatements, *to ſupply his omiſſions*, and to give my readers the little information I have collected of the cauſes and the objects of the different rebellions in Ireland. To follow Mr. Plowden, page by page, through all his miſtatements in his hiſtorical ſketches of the following reigns, it would be ne-

* Lord Clare's Speech on the ſecond reading of the Bill for the relief of his Majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects, March 13, 1793, p. 13.

ceſſary

Digitized by Google

ceſſary to write a work as voluminous and dull as his own; I muſt content myſelf with ſelecting the moſt prominent miſrepreſentations.

I ſhall therefore diſmiſs the code of Iriſh penal laws by obſerving, that the diſabilities impoſed upon Roman Catholics, by the Parliaments of our country, during the reign of King William, were more extenſive than thoſe enacted againſt the people of that communion by the Parliaments of Ireland, where their numbers and intrigues made them ſo much more formidable; that the diſabilities inflicted upon the Iriſh Catholics by the Iriſh legiſlature in Queen Anne's reign, were impoſed upon the Engliſh Catholics during King William's, the Parliaments of which period compelled them, in many inſtances, to pay *double taxes*, a meaſure never adopted in Ireland. I muſt alſo obſerve, that the Iriſh penal ſtatutes are moſtly tranſcripts of the Engliſh ones againſt the Catholics; and *let it alſo be remembered*, that the code of Iriſh penal laws of Anne's reign was not enacted in Ireland, until after her miniſters had refuſed to liſten to a propoſition made by the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, "to promote ſuch an union with England, as may qualify the ſtates of Ireland to be repreſented there*". Mr. Plowden, in his work, has thought proper to recite all theſe penal laws, and to give his readers his own reflections upon them, in the pages which precede the one in which he notices this unſucceſsful propoſition for an union, ſo attentive is he to chronological arrangement in his quartos.

We come now to the reign of George the Firſt (Hiſt. Review, p. 240) "when", according to Mr. Plowden's work, "*Catholic* Ireland was the only part of the Britiſh empire for which government felt ſecure, although malice may have been ſaturated in calumniating the *Iriſh nation*, it has (perhaps accidentally) eſcaped even the charge of Rebellion in 1715". I admit that there was no rebellion in Ireland in 1715; this Mr. Plowden attributes to the loyalty of the Iriſh Catholics to the Hanover ſucceſſion; but, from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, third volume, Appendix xiv. laſt edition, we may learn, that at the breaking out of the Rebellion in Scotland in that year, there were in Ireland ſeven regiments of cavalry, of from ſix to nine troops each regiment, and twenty-three regiments of infantry of ten companies each, all Proteſtants or Engliſhmen. We need not therefore wonder,

* Journal of the Houſe of Lords, vol. ii. folio 29.

that

Digitized by Google

that the public and ſecret friends of the Pretender "thought fit to change the ſcene of action"; and thoſe who know Ireland at this day, will not be much ſurprized at the "calm which it then enjoyed". We find alſo the utmoſt diligence conſtantly employed to maintain and recruit this army. One of the reaſons, perhaps, why Scotland was choſen as the ſcene of action, was, becauſe that country was deſtitute of troops; and, in conſequence, George the Firſt was obliged to take from Ireland * two regiments of dragoons, and ten regiments of infantry, to oppoſe this Scottiſh inſurrection; which force, the Iriſh Parliament inſtantly replaced by the † levy of five regiments of dragoons, and eight regiments of foot, all completed to the war eſtabliſhment; nor did the Iriſh government even then feel itſelf ſo ſecure as Mr. Plowden repreſents, for they addreſſed the King for a ſupply of ‡ ten thouſand ſtand of arms with a proportionable quantity of ammunition; and as a further ſecurity, they augmented the § militia; and upon a return made afterwards to the Houſe of Commons by the commiſſioners of array, we find that the Iriſh militia (including what are called independent companies) amounted to the following number: ‖ for Leinſter, ſixteen regiments of dragoons, fourteen regiments of foot; for Connaught, twelve regiments of dragoons, three regiments of foot; and for Ulſter and Munſter, forty regiments of cavalry, and twenty-two regiments of foot; and we find that ſome of the regiments of dragoons conſiſted of nine troops, and one of the foot (Tyrone) of ſixteen companies: an incredible force, had we not ſuch evidence as the Journals of the Houſe of Commons. We cannot therefore be much ſurprized, that the government of Ireland felt ſecure, or that "the traitorous enemies of the king were diſcouraged by their *early and ſteady* zeal for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion"; and in the ſame third volume of the Commons' Journal of Ireland, are ſeveral addreſſes to the juſtices, requiring them to offer rewards for the diſcovery of ſuch Papiſts as ſhould enliſt in theſe new levies, ſo that we are at no loſs to determine of what perſuaſion of religion theſe troops were; that, notwith-

* Iriſh Commons' Journals, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 15, third edition.
† Ibid, ſee the liſt of theſe new regiments, Appendix, p. xxxix.
‡ Ibid, p. 41, anſwer of Lords-Juſtices to Addreſs of the Houſe.
§ Ibid, p. 10.
‖ Commons' Journal of Ireland, Appendix, p. clxiii, third vol. Story in his Hiſtory writes, that the Proteſtant militia of Ireland amounted to 40,000 men, in the reign of King William.

Digitized by Google

ſtanding theſe precautions, the cauſe of the Pretender did derive ſome aſſiſtance from "Catholic Ireland", is evident from the following paragraph in the addreſs of the 23d of January, 1716*. "Your faithful Commons do therefore humbly beg leave to acquaint your Majeſty, that ſoon after the meeting of the late Parliament in this kingdom, the then Houſe of Commons received information, that many Iriſh Papiſts had been and continued daily to be ſhipped off from Dublin and other ports, for the ſervice of the Pretender". But the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, not content alone with arraying this very † large army, took further precautions; for, in an anſwer from the Lords-Juſtices to the addreſs of the Houſe brought up by Mr. Secretary Bladen, I find the following paragraph: "upon the firſt intelligence we had of the Pretender landing in North Britain, we directed that circular letters ſhould be written to the ſheriffs, magiſtrates, &c. requiring them, at the ſame time, ſtrictly to execute the laws againſt Papiſts, and to ſecure, not only the arms and ſerviceable horſes, but likewiſe the perſons of ſuch as they had juſt reaſons to ſuſpect, taking care to proceed therein according to law, *and as has been uſually practiſed in like caſes of danger*". Becauſe, therefore, the circumſpection and activity of a very vigilant government prevented any motions of rebellion, are we to infer (in contradiction to ſuch evidences of precaution) that no diſpoſition towards it then exiſted in Ireland? Is it, let me aſk, reconcileable to common ſenſe, that Parliament after Parliament, and Viceroy after Viceroy, ſhould have ſtyled the Iriſh Catholics of that day "the common enemy", if their conduct had been ſo loyal, dutiful, and unequivocal, as this writer chooſes to repreſent it? Why do we not find the ſame precautions taken againſt that "*Oliverian* party" (I preſume he means the Iriſh Diſſenters) which, in the reign immediately preceding, *he repreſents* having created ſuch dread and alarm, as to cauſe the Iriſh Houſe of

---

* They voted the Earl of Anneſley, whom they ſuppoſed in the intereſt of the Pretender by conniving at this emigration, "an enemy to his Majeſty", and he was removed from his office of Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland.

† Our anceſtors ſeem to have been of opinion, that a large military force (upon which they could rely) and conſtant vigilance were the ſureſt modes of keeping down the diſaffected party in Ireland; if we are to judge of the policy by its ſucceſs, they were not ſuch blockheads as Mr. Plowden ſeems to think them, viz. "if the conduct of our anceſtors did not baffle all conjecture", and ſuch other expreſſions.

Lords

Digitized by Google

Lords to petition the Queen for an union of the two kingdoms. Surely ſuch miſtatements of facts, and ſuch inconſiſtent deductions from them, can only impoſe upon the moſt ſtupid and prejudiced.

I meet a ſtriking inſtance of this inconſiſtent deduction in p. 251 of this ſketch of George the Firſt's reign; after mentioning, that the Lord-Lieutenant had given the royal aſſent to an Act, "to exempt Proteſtant Diſſenters from certain penalties", he gives an extract of the Speech of the Duke of Grafton, on putting an end to the ſeſſion.

"The advanced ſeaſon of the year makes it neceſſary for me to put an end to the ſeſſion, that you may have an opportunity *to take care of the public peace* in your ſeveral counties, and to keep a vigilant eye over *thoſe who have a deſign to diſturb it*; but of this you will have leſs occaſion to be apprehenſive, if you ſhall uſe your beſt endeavours to cultivate that, which will be your beſt ſecurity againſt all foreign and *domeſtic enemies*; and which, for *that reaſon*, I muſt in a *ſpecial manner* recommend to you in the words of one of thoſe excellent Bills paſſed this day, I mean an union in intereſts and affection amongſt *all* his Majeſty's ſubjects."

He then accuſes the Duke of Graſton of having intended, by theſe expreſſions, to give the Catholics hopes, becauſe they had ſhown no ſymptoms of inſurrection, when Alberoni's expedition againſt England, of *ſix thouſand* men, had been diſperſed by a ſtorm off Cape Finiſterre; and becauſe they had remained tranquil at a time, when the ſtanding * army of Ireland was increaſed to ten regiments of cavalry, and twenty of infantry of the line, beſides the militia. "The people", ſays Mr. P. "read what they never experienced, and ſmarted under what they never read". Now, who were the *domeſtic enemies* that the Duke adviſed the members to have a vigilant eye over? And who were thoſe likely to diſturb the peace of their counties, for which reaſon he put an end to the ſeſſion? And, upon reference to the preamble of the Act, to which his Grace alluded, viz. the Act exempting Proteſtant Diſſenters from certain penalties, I find theſe words: "whereas, the granting ſome eaſe and indulgence to the Proteſtant Diſſenters in the exerciſe of religion, may be an effectual means to unite his Majeſty's *Proteſtant ſubjects* in intereſt and affection". It is evident, therefore, from the Duke of Grafton's adverting to the preamble of the ſtatute, that he alluded to *all* his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects; and that he did not hold out any hopes to "the common enemy", as we find the Papiſts then ſtyled. I

* See Comm. Journ. Ireland, vol. iii. App. cxxi.

ſhould

Digitized by Google

ſhould not perhaps have noticed this circumſtance, had I not conſidered ſuch an unfounded charge of duplicity againſt a former Chief-Governor, to be at this day dangerous and irritating. This writer's inaccuracies may be inadvertent, but in my opinion his Hiſtory (not *of* but) *for* Ireland, is calculated to do infinite miſchief among that claſs of Iriſh, to whoſe prejudices it is written, and whoſe errors it is ſo calculated to confirm.

In a * few pages further, we meet a charge againſt an Iriſh Houſe of Commons and a Viceroy, of the moſt horrible nature; in ſupport of which, this gentleman has not quoted one tittle of evidence. I have ſearched the Iriſh Commons' Journals with the greateſt care, and can find no traces of ſuch a *clauſe* † as he mentions in the Bill, to prevent the growth of Popery; nay, the very aſſertion that Mr. Plowden makes, that it was neceſſary for Cardinal Fleury to intercede with Mr. Walpole to expunge this clauſe, is alone a ſufficient proof, that the whole charge has been the offſpring of that "inventive acrimony" which then rankled, and at this day rankles, in the breaſts of the Iriſh prieſts againſt the Proteſtant government of Ireland. That a gentleman of Mr. Plowden's education and profeſſion ſhould have given credit to ſuch a calumny againſt the Iriſh Parliament and Engliſh cabinet, and have propagated it in his book, would have given me as much ſurprize as it does concern, were I not aware, that ſuch is the partiality of mankind to ſet up that intereſt which they once have eſpouſed, that they will attempt to do it, though it be to the prejudice of decency and common juſtice.

I ſhall paſs over the ſubject of Wood's coinage, that ruinous project, which in this reign cauſed ſuch a ferment in Ireland, and which was defeated by the ſatire of Swift's pen. Swift was a true patriot; he had the intereſts of Ireland more at

---

* Hiſtorical Review, pp. 253, 254, wherein he aſſerts, that the Lord-Lieutenant (Duke of Grafton) *recommended* to the Iriſh Houſe of Commons to bring in a Bill, or clauſe in a Bill, for *caſtrating* every Popiſh clergyman in Ireland; that this Bill paſſed the Houſe *unanimouſly*, was *tranſmitted* to England, and by the interceſſion of Cardinal Fleury with Mr. Walpole was not returned to the Iriſh Houſe, to their great mortification and diſcontent.

† Hiſt. Review, vol. iii. p. 346; where Doctor Trotter reports to the Houſe the reſolutions of the committee, &c. &c. ſee alſo p. 366, vol. iii. by which it appears, that the ſpeech of the Duke, which Mr. P. applies to *this clauſe* about the prieſts, refers to the *whole Bill* to prevent the growth of Popery, which the Lord-Lieutenant had recommended at the beginning of the ſeſſion to the Houſe,

heart,

Digitized by Google

heart, and underſtood them better than any of his contemporaries: and if in thoſe twenty volumes that he has left to poſterity (which are the ſtandard of a pure ſtyle, and which are unrivalled in wit) if in any one of his political tracts contained in them, Mr. P. can produce a ſingle paſſage in teſtimony of the unequivocal *loyalty of the Iriſh Catholics of that day to the Houſe of Hanover, I ſhall be ſatisfied, that his repreſentations upon that ſubject ſhould paſs as incontrovertible.

I proceed to the reign of George II. Upon the acceſſion of his late Majeſty, Mr. Plowden informs us, the Iriſh Catholics preſented an addreſs of congratulation upon the occaſion (pp. 264, 265) "but it was received with ſilent contempt"; for which fact he gives us no authority but his own aſſertion; and this addreſs, he admits, "was not carried without a conſiderable diviſion of the Catholic body"; ſuch was their unanimity in giving this formal profeſſion of loyalty! Mr. Plowden goes on, "the ſevere ordeal which Catholic loyalty had paſſed during the reign of George the Firſt, had, it ſeems, ſo far blunted the edge of calumny, that public vituperation was no longer prudent". I am no friend to vituperation; for, I think, meaſures of precaution may be taken againſt any diſaffected party in any ſtate, without having recourſe to irritating epithets. The Iriſh Houſe of Commons, which ſat after the acceſſion of George the Second, ſeems to have been of this opinion. I find Lord Carteret, in his ſpeech upon opening the ſeſſion in November, 1727, recommending to the members to "enforce the execution of the laws for the ſafety of the public, and the preventing popiſh prieſts and regulars from coming into the kingdom†": and I find the Commons thanking the Lord-Lieutenant for expreſſing his Majeſty's intention of ſending back the troops upon the Iriſh eſtabliſhment; and for his own precautionary meaſures to diſappoint *all* ‡ the King's enemies. It appears, therefore, that at the

---

* See that admirable piece of humour by Dean Swift, entitled "the Roman Catholics' Reaſons for repealing the Teſt"; in which with inimitable irony, he pretends to juſtify their offer of the kingdom of Ireland to the Duke of Lorrain, whilſt Charles the Second was in exile. Swift declares, that the inſtrument which was drawn up upon this occaſion by the Iriſh Catholics, was proved againſt them by Primate Boyle, who produced the original to the Council Board. See alſo Doctor King's ſtate of the Proteſtants of Ireland, p. 40, edition of 1692, where this fact is corroborated.

† See vol. iii. Iriſh Comm. Journals, pp. 464, 467.

‡ The expreſſion, "common enemy", was then for the firſt time dropped,

com-

Digitized by Google

commencement of the late reign, the Iriſh government continued the ſyſtem of unabating vigilance, and wiſely abandoned the ſyſtem of "vituperation".

Throughout every part of this work, as far as I have hitherto gone, I find this writer conſiſtent in ſelecting ſuch topics as are imprudent and irritating. "However grievous", he obſerves, "were the penal laws impoſed upon the Catholics, during the reigns of Elizabeth and Anne, it is but juſtice to allow, that *none* of them had deprived them of the *elective franchiſe*" (Hiſt. Review, p. 263). Upon a reference to the ſecond volume of the Iriſh Commons' Journal, p. 230, I find, that in the reign of King William the Houſe of Commons of Ireland came unanimouſly to the following reſolution: "reſolved, nem. con. that the excluding of Papiſts from having votes for electing any members to ſerve in Parliament, is neceſſary to be made into a law"; the next reſolution paſſed was, "that ſome further oath, beſides that of fidelity, was abſolutely neceſſary"; and the laſt was, "that an oath, renouncing the papal authority in *this* kingdom, is neceſſary for the peace and quiet thereof"; a committee was accordingly ſtruck, which, upon the firſt of December following, brought up their report of the laws then in exiſtence againſt Papiſts; and amongſt them I find, that by the "new rules made in purſuance, and by virtue of, the Acts of Settlement and Explanation", no perſon is capable of acting as Mayor, Sovereign, *Burgeſs*, or holding any employment in any corporation or walled town in the kingdom, without taking the oath, * 2 do. Elizabethæ, i. e. the oath of ſupremacy, and the oath of allegiance†.

Upon the acceſſion of Queen Anne, I find a Bill to prevent the growth of Popery, paſſed in the ſecond year of her reign; and, by the 14th ſection, "for the preventing Papiſts having it in their power to breed diſſentions amongſt Proteſtants, by voting at elections of Members of Parliament", I find them required to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration; which, from this preamble to the 14th ſection, ſeems to have been an expedient deviſed to exclude them all together from voting; and, upon a reference to the ſecond volume of the Iriſh

---

* This continued to be the oath of ſupremacy in Ireland; in this country a new oath of ſupremacy was appointed by 3 Will. and Mary 2.

† Theſe "new rules" are to be found in the third volume of the Iriſh Statutes, from p. 197 to p. 239; they were made in the reign of Charles the Second, and continued to be the laws of that land until the repeal of the popery code.

Journals,

Digitized by Google

Journals, p. 612, I find, that upon the petition of a Mr. Cuffe againſt a Mr. Cole, complaining of an undue election for the borough of Iriſhtown, the right of Papiſts to vote came in queſtion, and was decided againſt them; by this deciſion, thirty-ſix Papiſts who had * offered to vote for Mr. Cuffe were not allowed as good votes; and Mr. Cole, who had been returned by the Portreeve, as having the majority of Proteſtant votes, kept his ſeat; and from the report of the committee, of the evidence upon this petition preſented to the Houſe, June 22, 1709, it appears, that the petitioner's own clerk declared, "that he believes Papiſts voted formerly, but not of late years"; another witneſs ſwears, "that Papiſts had been excluded ſince King James's time"; nor could the petitioner's counſel produce any evidence, that they had been ever ſuffered to vote ſince the Revolution; which they ſurely would have done, could they have found a precedent: nor is there an entry on the Iriſh Journal to prove their right of voting.

This Act, therefore, "the firſt of George II. chap. 9, for the better regulating the return of members to ſerve in Parliament", did not *firſt* deprive the Catholics of the *elective franchiſe*, or as Mr. Plowden elegantly expreſſes it, Hiſt. Review, p. 269, "*bruſhed off* four fifths of the people of Ireland from any repreſentation in Parliament"; the ſeventh ſection † therefore of this Act, which commences with the expreſſions, "for the *better* preventing Papiſts from voting", &c. ſeems to be a recognition or continuation of what had been the law ſince the Revolution, and which it was of courſe neceſſary to take notice of, in a new Bill for regulating the elections of Members of Parliament.

Mr. Plowden in this part of his work complains grievouſly, that ‡ "Engliſh intereſt" had ſuch a ſway in the government of Ireland during this reign. It appears to me, however, to have been inſeparable from the nature of that connection, which then ſubſiſted between the countries; and, from the preſent incorporation, it muſt become more and more predominant: and I truſt, that this Engliſh intereſt will never loſe ſight of Ireland; becauſe I am apprehenſive, that at this day, as well

* N. B. The Portreeve refuſed to take *their votes* at the huſtings; but took down their *names*. Hiſt. Review, p. 269.

† There is no other proof, except Mr. Plowden's aſſertion, that this ſeventh ſection was introduced into the Bill without notice, debate, or *council*; I preſume he meant *counſel*.

‡ Hiſt. Review, p. 263, et ſequentes.

Digitized by Google

as in the reign of George the Second, there are but too many of the Iriſh people, who "would not be very forward in ſupporting ſuch *foreign* aſcendancy, whether Engliſh or Proteſtant": and yet upon this aſcendancy, whether Proteſtant or Engliſh (I am inclined to think them inſeparable) the connection which has hitherto ſubſiſted between the countries has depended; for, I truſt, I have ſatisfactorily proved that thoſe who have been forward in oppoſing this *foreign* aſcendancy, have ſyſtematically availed themſelves of every chance of diſſolving that connexion, whenever the internal diſtractions of England, or the preſſure of foreign war preſented an opportunity, which was likely to offer them a proſpect of ſucceſs. It is a memorable fact, however, that from the reign of Queen Anne to the acceſſion of our preſent Monarch, though Ireland laboured under every diſadvantage from a limited trade, or ſcarcely any trade; though ſhe was ruled by a Parliament, whoſe powers were circumſcribed; nevertheleſs, that kingdom was kept in tranquillity by *that foreign aſcendancy*, or at leaſt its diſcontents never ripened into a formidable rebellion: and, although during the period I have alluded to, England was almoſt conſtantly involved in wars, wherein ſhe was often deſerted by fortune; nevertheleſs, Ireland, upon * three memorable occaſions, was enabled to lend her ſtanding army to Great Britain for her defence, and never once during that period endangered her exiſtence. It is a melancholy reflection to the moraliſt, as well as the politician (I ſpeak with freedom, and hope to be anſwered by argument, and not by clamour) it is a melancholy reflection, that the diſcontents of that kingdom have kept pace with the advantages which ſhe has ſince obtained, and that her alienation from England has grown with her growth, and ſtrengthened with her ſtrength.

Were I to inveſtigate the cauſe of this national inconſiſtency (I ſhall not uſe an harſher phraſe) I might trace it in conjunction with other cauſes to the exertions of ſome of thoſe *patriots*, who preferred, not an Iriſh to an Engliſh intereſt; but their own intereſt to the ſafety and tranquillity of their country. Thoſe bold popular adventurers, who, for the purpoſes of their own aggrandiſement, were ever ready to take up the claims of any diſcontented party, or to bring forward

* The rebellion of Scotland in 1715; when Alberoni threatened a deſcent in 1719; and the rebellion in Scotland in 1745.

any

Digitized by Google

any imaginary grievance, of which there never can be a want in any free ſtate. Theſe are the men who have weakened that "*foreign*" aſcendancy, whether Engliſh or Proteſtant, to which I do not heſitate to affirm, Ireland owed its tranquillity, from the Revolution to the year 1782. To purſue the trade of politics, the lawyer left his briefs, and the citizen his counter, and as it was unfortunately encouraged by *bounties*, Ireland ſuffered all the miſchiefs which uſually attend a *forced trade* in any country. Time and labour (capital there was none) were diverted from thoſe channels, in which alone they could have been uſeful, into one impure and violent torrent, from which have branched out all the evils that have deluged that country. But the rebellion of 1798, muſt have at length convinced the Proteſtant part of her inhabitants, that they can find no ſolid ſecurity from the attacks of their external and internal enemies, but in the protection of Great Britain; and the ſubmiſſion with which they acquieſced in a * *meaſure*, that wounded all their pride, and all their prejudices; and the zeal with which they have *ſince* come forward in † its ſupport (without incumbering their offers with claims, or ‡ hints at claims) muſt convince the Britiſh nation, that whilſt it upholds *that party* in Ireland, the connexion of the countries can never be diſſolved.

To return to Mr. Plowden's work from this digreſſion, into which I was led by the reflections which he has made in this part of his work, upon the effects of the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland; how far his reflections are calculated to give his Iriſh readers an encouraging proſpect of the conſequences of the Union, "which is the primary object of his publication", I hope they will diſcover, although beyond my comprehenſion.

I ſhall not follow this writer through his detail of the diſtreſſes which three very unfavourable harveſts produced in Ireland.

But I follow him to his reiterated eulogiums upon the loyalty of the Iriſh Catholics to the Houſe of Hanover, and the cruel return which he complains was then made to them, for their unſhaken attachment to the throne.

He informs his readers, "that the Duke of Dorſet, who was naturally humane, and very ſenſible of the extreme hardſhips which the Catholics of Ireland then ſuffered from the

---

* The Union.

† On the 23d of July, 1803.

‡ Vide the laſt Iriſh Catholic Addreſs to the King in 1803.

exiſting

Digitized by Google

exiſting laws, relaxed ſo far from the uſual ſtyle of addreſſing the Parliament on this ſubject, that he no longer recommended it from the throne to provide for further ſeverities upon the Catholics". Hiſt. Review, p. 281. In the next page he complains, p. 282, "that in 1733 his Grace of Dorſet again relapſed into the antient ſtyle, by calling upon the Parliament of Ireland to ſecure a firm union amongſt all Proteſtants, who have one common intereſt, and the ſame common enemy". This change in the Lord-Lieutenant's ſtyle, he ſays, was preparatory to a repeal of the ſacramental teſt in favour of the Diſſenters. But he might have given his readers a much more ſatisfactory reaſon for the revival of an appellation ſome time diſuſed, had he informed them, that a very dangerous popiſh conſpiracy had been lately diſcovered, and defeated by the vigilance of that Proteſtant aſcendancy, to which he ſeems to have ſuch a diſguſt.

On the 19th of December, 1733, Sir Richard Cox brought up to the Iriſh Houſe of Commons the report of the committee which had been appointed to inſpect the original papers, ſeized in the houſes or lodgings of one Mac-Carthy, alias Rabah, a reputed titular popiſh Biſhop, and Joſeph Nagle a reputed popiſh ſolicitor, both of the City of Cork. This report, containing the depoſitions of Father John Henneſey the informant, and the letters and papers ſeized, is to be found in Appendix xlvi. laſt edition of the Iriſh Commons' Journal, fourth volume, and conſiſts of four pages folio. The ſubſtance of Father Henneſey's information (ſworn before Lord Doneraile and John Love, Eſq. the 3d of January, 1732) is as follows: "that at the cloſe of the year 1729, he was at Mac-Carthy's, alias Rabah, the titular Biſhop of Cork's houſe, in company with the titular Biſhops of Limerick and Killaloe, and a Doctor Jones, a Franciſcan Friar, who delivered a letter from Doctor Butler, popiſh Archbiſhop of Caſhel, acquainting them, that he had received a letter from the Pope's Internuncio at * Bruſſels, informing him, that the Pope *had complied with the requeſt of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of Ireland;* and that his Holineſs had ſent them an indulgence for ten years, in order to raiſe a ſum of money to

* *Formerly* the Iriſh Catholics had always an agent at Bruſſels. Dr. Troy, the Catholic Archbiſhop of Dublin, in his Paſtoral Letter, publiſhed in 1792, aſſerts, that *now* there is a ſtanding Cabinet of Cardinals at Rome, for the eccleſiaſtical government of Ireland.—The preſent Pope is the tool of Bonaparte.

be

Digitized by Google

be ſpeedily applied to reſtore King James *the Third* to his right, and to put the preſent King and all the royal family to the ſword".

And as ſome of my readers may have a wiſh to know by what means money was *at that time* raiſed in Ireland for political purpoſes, I ſhall give them the ſaid Father John Henneſey's account of the mode of proceeding.

" Soon after this informant received a letter and a copy of the Pope's Bull from his ſaid Biſhop (Mac-Carthy, aliah Rabah) with directions ſtrictly to obey the ſame, the purport of which is as follows:

" That every communicant, duly confeſſing and receiving upon the patron days of every reſpective pariſh, and any Sunday from the 1ſt of May to September, having repeated the Lord's Prayer five times, and once the Apoſtle's Creed, upon paying *two-pence* each time, was to have a plenary indulgence for their ſins, and all approved confeſſors had a full power to abſolve in all caſes, with intent that God would ſpeedily place King James the Third upon the throne of England."

He further ſwears, that each pariſh prieſt was obliged to pay *five pounds per annum* towards this pious purpoſe; that the ſeveral Biſhops were the collectors; and that Garret Nagle, brother to the counſeller, was the Pretender's agent in Flanders, for receiving this money; and that they had then 1500l. ready to remit.

And Father Henneſey further ſwears, that having had an argument with his Biſhop about the lawfulneſs of paying taxes to King George, he became an object of ſuſpicion to his party; who inſtigated a proſecution againſt him, in hopes of getting him * tranſported as a prieſt, " leſt he ſhould diſcover of the helliſh plot then going forward".

And John Love, Eſq. ſwears, that having obtained an order from the going judge of aſſize to ſearch the houſe of Counſellor Nagle, one of the Pretender's agents for Munſter, he went with the ſheriff to Nagle's houſe, " who inſolently told him, that he had received three days notice, and that was time enough to remove all papers".

And the Committee declare, " that they had made every inquiry into the character of the ſaid Father John Henneſey; and that for what the Committee can find, his character remains unblemiſhed".

Such was the loyalty of the Catholic Biſhops of Ireland to his late Majeſty George the Second!

* Under the Act of William, 9th year, chap. 1.

Digitized by Google

Can we therefore be much ſurpriſed at the policy, which led the Iriſh Houſe of Commons to repeal the teſt in favour of the Diſſenters, in order to create an union amongſt all the Proteſtants of Ireland, who by this report ſeem *then* to have had a common intereſt, and the ſame *common enemy?*

" Loud and vehement", ſays Mr. Plowden, " as were the cries and exertions againſt Popery and Papiſts in Ireland, yet it is impoſſible for any temperate man not to ſee, that they aroſe out of no other principle than that of ſelf-intereſt"; to which I beg leave to add, *ſelf-preſervation.*

In a few pages further (p. 290) we meet with a juſt eulogium upon the bravery of the Iriſh troops in foreign ſervices; Mr. Plowden attempts to account for the ſuperiority which the Engliſh troops have always maintained over the Iriſh in their own country, by the want of diſcipline in the latter; I ſhall not enter into ſuch a controverſy; but refer my readers to Hume's Hiſtory of England, vol. vi. chap. lvii. for his opinion upon this ſubject.

We are next informed by this writer, " that upon a *report* of Marſhall Saxe's intention to make a deſcent upon England, a ſerious propoſal had been made *in council*, that as the Papiſts had begun the maſſacre upon the Proteſtants in 1641, it was but juſt and reaſonable, in that critical juncture, to retaliate in like manner upon the Papiſts". P. 292. In ſupport of which aſſertion, his readers will remark that he produces no one authority, not even a *marginal note*, as in the affair about the prieſts, and the clauſe againſt them.

So conſcious have the Iriſh Catholics ever been of the indelible ſtain of the maſſacre of 1641, that they have endeavoured by the moſt bareſaced inventions, to divide the odium attached to the memory of their anceſtors for having perpetrated ſuch an enormity, by charging the Proteſtants with having entertained ſimilar intentions. There is, however, ſome difference between a fact which ſtands upon record, and a charge without any foundation to ſupport it.

I have now followed this writer to the year of the Rebellion in Scotland (1745) and here he aſſerts, that " during the whole continuance of the Rebellion in *Great Britain*, not a ſingle Catholic, *lay* or clerical, was engaged or even accuſed of being engaged in that cauſe". P. 293. This he attributes to Lord Cheſterfield's lenient government, and to the loyalty of the Iriſh Catholics to the Houſe of Hanover; forgetting, that in p. 210, he had made ſuch an obſervation as the following:

Digitized by Google

" The Iriſh nation was doomed to ſuffer under every Steuart; and the ingratitude of this monarch (Anne) to them may have contributed, *not ſlightly*, to prevent them from relapſing into their former attachment, when other parts of the empire roſe in rebellion in their ſupport; it ſtrongly marks the folly of coupling the cauſe of Popery with the Pretender."

In his ſpeech upon opening the ſeſſion in Ireland in this year, we find the liberal and enlightened Lord Cheſterfield (after announcing the rebellion in Scotland) recommending to the Houſe of Commons* " to conſider whether nothing further can be done either by *new laws*, or the more effectual execution of thoſe in being, to ſecure this nation againſt the great number of Papiſts, whoſe ſpeculative errors would only deſerve pity, if their pernicious influence upon ſociety did not require, and *authoriſe* reſtraint". If ſuch a recommendation, coming from ſuch a man as Lord Cheſterfield at the beginning of a ſeſſion, does not beſpeak diſtruſt of the Catholics of that day, at leaſt the † following paragraph in his ſpeech upon cloſing the ſeſſion, bears no very honourable teſtimony to their conduct. " The concurrent zeal and active loyalty of all his Majeſty's *Proteſtant* ſubjects of all denominations throughout this kingdom, prove at once how ſenſible and how deſerving they are of his care and protection; *even thoſe deluded people*, who ſcarcely acknowledge his government, ſeem by their conduct to have tacitly confeſſed the advantages they enjoy under it; at my return to his Majeſty's preſence, I ſhall not fail faithfully to report theſe truths, ſince the moſt faithful will be at the ſame time the moſt favourable repreſentation". As to Mr. Plowden's aſſertion, " that not a ſingle Catholic, *lay* or clerical, was engaged or accuſed of being engaged in this cauſe", let us contraſt this aſſertion with another; namely, that of the late Lord Clare, in his ſpeech in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, March 13, 1793.

" I have been informed by a perſon, who never in any one inſtance deceived me, that in the year 1745, the Catholics of Ireland waited only for the ſignal to riſe from a ſouthern Earl, ********* ********, and who was, I believe, arreſted in England in that year on a ſuſpicion of treaſon; and that he waited only to give them the ſignal, till it could be aſcertained, whether an inſurrection in Ireland would have had effect;

* Comm. Journals of Ireland, vol. iv. p. 450.
† Ibid. p. 509.

for-

Digitized by Google

fortunately for them, the then Pretender was at once defeated in the attempt". No Lord of Parliament contradicted this ſtatement of Lord Clare's. Wiſhing to trace this fact further, I applied to a gentleman of very high reſpectability and great official information in Ireland, whoſe name I think proper to conceal, as well as thoſe of the parties concerned, which I have in my poſſeſſion; by him I have been informed, that in 1745, an officer was ſent from Dublin by the Iriſh government to ſeize the papers of this no leman, at his ſeat of ****; that he ſtopped at the town of ****, and there ſlept that night at the houſe of a perſon to whom he communicated the purport of his errand; who immediately ſent off privately to Mr. ****, his Lordſhip's agent, who with a ſolicitude for the ſafety of his employer, which we can hardly condemn, went off to ****, and ſecured every paper that could have criminated his Lordſhip, before the officer's arrival.

If, therefore, Ireland at this period remained in tranquillity, it was owing to the ſpeedy defeat of the Pretender's attempt in Scotland, and to the wiſe and vigilant government of the Lord Cheſterfield; for which the Iriſh Houſe of Commons voted him their thanks, in their addreſs of the 8th of April, 1746.

I ſhall paſs over Doctor Lucas and his ſquabbles with the Board of Aldermen: thoſe who have any curioſity upon this ſubject, may turn to Mr. Plowden's work. Towards the cloſe of the reign of George the Second, France made the moſt formidable preparations for the invaſion of Ireland; three large, and one ſmall fleet were fitted out; the Toulon fleet was defeated; the Breſt fleet ſhared the ſame fate; the tranſports at Vannes, containing 20,000 men, did not venture out of port; the ſmall fleet from Dunkirk alone reached its place of deſtination. Monſ. Thurot landed about 700 men at Carrickfergus; he was ſoon oppoſed by the Proteſtant militia of that neighbourhood, was obliged to re-embark, and was killed in his attempt to eſcape to France.

Mr. Plowden having mentioned the defeat of the Breſt fleet, by which the great expedition from Vannes was fruſtated, obſerves, Hiſt. Review, p. 328, "happily for Great Britain, and to the unſpeakable advantage of this country"—(Ireland) Quære? why ſo, if its Catholic inhabitants were then as loyal as he has repreſented them? How inconſiſtent are this gentleman's obſervations, with the arguments which he endeavours to ſupport!

I here cloſe the Second Part of my Strictures upon Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review of the State of Ireland. I ſhould never

Digitized by Google

have undertaken ſo diſagreeable and invidious a taſk, had not his work made it abſolutely neceſſary; nor can I help obſerving, that in my opinion he has done incalculable miſchief to the cauſe he has eſpouſed, by the manner in which he has ſupported it. In the courſe of theſe Strictures, I have been obliged to conſult the moſt various, and the moſt unexceptionable authorities; and the reſult has been, that from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the acceſſion of our preſent Monarch, the diſcontented Catholic party in Ireland ſyſtematically aimed at a ſeparation from England, by the overthrow of the Engliſh intereſt and government; and for that purpoſe, maintained a conſtant connexion with ſome foreign power.

Whilſt Spain was the moſt powerful monarchy in Europe, I find this Catholic party looking to that court for aſſiſtance in the accompliſhment of their views; upon the declenſion of the Spaniſh power in Europe, I find them forming a connexion with France, and from the year 1700 to the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, a *good underſtanding* ſubſiſted between that party and the Cabinet of Verſailles.

How then can any liberal Catholic in Ireland, at this day, look back upon the conduct of his anceſtors with ſatisfaction, much leſs with exultation?

STRICTURES,

Digitized by Google

STRICTURES,

&c. &c.

PART THE THIRD.

——Dicere verum
Quid vetat—— HORACE.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

STRICTURES,

&c. &c.

I HAVE now come to the "Third Part" of my Strictures on Mr. Plowden's work. In the Second Part I have ſhewn, that the various efforts made by "Catholic * Ireland" from the Revolution to the cloſe of the reign of George the Second, to foment rebellions, were defeated by the vigilance and activity of the Iriſh governments, or, as Mr. P. would perhaps expreſs it, by "that *foreign* aſcendency whether Engliſh or Proteſtant." During this period a very large ſtanding army†, a Proteſtant Militia, and a code of rigorous laws, kept Catholic Ireland in ſullen obedience. Since the acceſſion of his gracious Majeſty George the Third, a very material alteration has taken place in the ſyſtem of policy adopted towards that kingdom.

During this period, what has been called the conciliatory, but which in our opinion, may more properly be ſtiled the conceding ſyſtem, has been tried. It was fondly expected, that the removal of civil and religious diſabilities would have cordially reconciled "Catholic Ireland" to the throne and the Proteſtant

* I have adopted throughout *this phraſe* of Mr. Plowden's, and by it mean the bulk of the Roman Catholics of Ireland; but in theſe I do not include thoſe of the Catholic nobility and gentry, whoſe advantages of education, ſtake in that country, and loyalty, make it impoſſible for the moſt malicious to charge me with the folly or falſehood of including them in thoſe cenſures, which in purſuit of truth and fair hiſtorical repreſentation, I have been obliged to caſt upon the great maſs of the Catholic perſuaſion in Ireland: I reſpect the religious opinions of every order of Britiſh ſubjects, and am here conſidering the Catholic religion rather as a political than a religious ſyſtem. From the bigoted and the diſaffected in Ireland I expect all the virulence of vulgar abuſe: but intemperance and clamour cannot drown the voice of truth.

† Story in his Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of Ireland, laſt page, ſays, that even in King William's reign the Proteſtant Militia of Ireland amounted to 40,000 men.

govern-

Digitized by Google

government. Nearly thirty years have elapſed ſince this experiment has been tried and perſevered in; with what ſucceſs, I ſhall have ſome opportunities of obſerving in the courſe of this Part of my Strictures.

The part of Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review of the State of Ireland now before us, is a notable example of that ſpecies of induſtry called "book making:" the author of "the critical Hiſtory of England" (an old but admirable work) ſpeaking of the manner in which Hiſtories were compiled (not written) in his time, obſerves, "far from having opportunities or credit enough to procure authentic manuſcripts, moſt of our modern *hiſtory-writers* content themſelves with the copies of common records, gazettes, news-papers, pamphlets, ſtuffing their pieces with long ſpeeches in Parliament, votes of the Houſe of Commons, and even proclamations: ſome have copied theſe noble materials *verbatim*, as will be found in the laſt reigns of the "compleat hiſtory," than which nothing can be more incomplete.

I may with a ſlight alteration alſo apply to the work before me, the epigram made on the writer of long epitaphs:

"Friend, in your *Hiſtory*, I'm grieved
So very much is ſaid,
One half will never be believed,
The other never read—"

In the beginning (Hiſt. Review, p. 337) of his *ſtretch* of the reign of George the Third, (ſo Mr. Plowden is pleaſed to ſtile thirteen hundred and ſeventy-ſix pages of his work, and five hundred of Appendix, contents and index not included) he introduces to the acquaintance of his readers the Iriſh white-boys, a popiſh banditti, who at the commencement of this reign under pretence of redreſſing grievances, tythes, &c. &c. &c. were confederated for the purpoſes of treaſon and rebellion, though according to a Dr. Campbell whom Mr. Plowden quotes*, "they were aſſerting the rights of nature by nocturnal inſurrection," and who in order to aſſert "the rights of nature," murdered a number of tythe-proctors, cut out the tongues of others, buried ſome up to their chins in holes in the earth filled with furze, made others ride *bare-breeched* upon quickſet brambles, and put none to death without firſt giving them a ſpecimen of this moſt effectual mode of "aſſerting the rights of nature."

Mr. Plowden takes great pains to juſtify theſe aſſertors of

* Hiſt. Review, note to p. 339.

nature's

Digitized by Google

nature's rights, and even brings in * Tacitus to aſſiſt him, in whoſe account of the antient Germans, he has found *ſome* reſemblance to the Iriſh White-boys.

Were we to give credit to his Hiſtorical Review, a murrain among the cattle of Holſtein, which ſome how or other was introduced into Ireland, together with the high price of beef, butter, and cheeſe, and the avarice of monopolizers, with the practice of converting tillage hands into paſturage†, "turned adrift this *forlorn peaſantry*," who harboured not a ſentiment of diſaffection to the Government; but continued *to riot* (for nearly thirty years) as our common people have ſometimes done, (for a week or ſo) on account of the high price of proviſions.

I muſt firſt inform my readers, that the ſouthern part of Ireland called Munſter, and which was the ſcene of theſe *riots*, was then, and the greater part of it ſtill continues to be, a country of paſturage, from which our navy is ſupplied with proviſions, &c. And next, that the food of the Iriſh peaſant was, at *that* time, potatoes and milk, the former of which he raiſed in a ſmall piece of ground attached to his *cabin*, called his *con-acre*, and his cow was ſubſiſted on his landlord's ground, or the adjoining common, no attempts to incloſe which were then made in Ireland.

One of the moſt active fomentors of theſe *riots*, was a prieſt of the name of Father Nicholas Sheehy, who, having been tried at the Court of King's-bench in Ireland, and acquitted for want of ſufficient evidence, returned to the South; and emboldened by his eſcape continued his treaſonable practices, without that reſerve and caution which he had at firſt adopted. He was therefore a ſecond time apprehended, was tried at the aſſizes of Clonmel, found guilty upon the cleareſt evidence, and executed accordingly. Thoſe who in ſecret had abetted his practices, were ſo incenſed at the loſs of their moſt uſeful agitator, that every art was made uſe of by them to vilify the jury, the judge, and the government; and by the knaves of his party, he was repreſented to the fools of it, as a martyr to the Catholic cauſe, exactly in the ſame manner as in the year 1798, a moſt active united Iriſhman of the name of Orr, who was tried before the Chief Baron of the Iriſh Exchequer, and found guilty upon the moſt ſatisfactory evidence, was ſtiled "the murdered Orr," and the reſpectable Judge (Lord Avonmore) who tried him, having, in conſequence of his evi-

* See note to p. 339, Hiſt. Review.
† Hiſt. Review, p. 336, et ſequentes.

dent

Digitized by Google

dent guilt, refuſed to recommend him to mercy, was maligned (as well as the jurymen who found him guilty) by every falſehood which the ingenuity of Iriſh treaſon could deviſe*. Mr. Plowden inſiſts upon the innocence of this Father Sheehy, whom he moſt unwarrantably repreſents as "a † victim" ſelected "to anſwer the views of thoſe, who from their own *private ends*, connived at and fomented theſe tumults." Could it have ſerved the intereſts of the Proteſtant clergyman to be deprived of his tythes? or could it have anſwered the views of the Proteſtant landlord, to have his rents lowered? two of the *avowed* objects of theſe inſurgents. Though I am aware, that Mr. P. has received all his information relative to "Catholic Ireland," from the moſt exceptionable ſources, I cannot help expreſſing my ſurpize that he ſhould have given credit to the groſs calumnies which have been reported to him.

I ſhall now lay before my readers extracts from the evidence upon oath, of ſome of the parties implicated in this inſurrection; which will prove to them, not only the guilt of Father Nicholas Sheehy, but alſo the real objects and the *principal inſtigators* of *this White-boy* rebellion; and my readers will no doubt be of opinion with me, that legal evidence is rather more to be depended upon than Mr. Plowden's authorities, *to wit*, the aforeſaid Dr. Campbell, Exſhaw's Gentleman's Magazine, his own *private* information, or even A. Young.

"The information of Matthias O'Brien, Popiſh Prieſt, ſworn before Thomas Butler, Eſq. Mayor of the city of Kilkenny, on the 24th January, 1768." In this the ſaid Matthias O'Brien ſwears, "that the late tumultuous riſing of White-boys which prevailed in the ſouthern parts of this kingdom, were ſet on foot for the ſole end and purpoſe to informant's certain knowledge, in order to raiſe therein a ſpirit of ſedition and diſaffection to his Majeſty's perſon and government, which might be of uſe to ſupport a foreign invaſion, certainly intended againſt this kingdom at a convenient time, in favour of Prince Charles, otherwiſe the Pretender to theſe realms, and that the cauſes commonly alledged for theſe riſings by the ſaid White-boys, were but mere pretences, and calculated to conceal the above ſecret deſign. Informant depoſeth, that theſe diſorders were fomented originally by foreign agents in conjunction with ſome Catholic biſhops, particularly Dr. James

* The wretched beings of the lower orders whom they ſeduced, were conſigned to their fate without remorſe or feeling.

† Hiſt. Review, p. 340.

Butler,

Digitized by Google

Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel (in whoſe houſe or chapel there were papers of a treaſonable nature concealed) and others of his clergy, aſſiſted by ſeveral gentlemen of the ſame perſuaſion. That informant was early apprized from his ſtation, then as coadjutor to his aforeſaid Biſhop Dr. Butler, of their dangerous ſchemes againſt his Majeſty and the eſtabliſhed Government." And after ſwearing that by his exertions in his chair of confeſſion, he had prevented ſeveral White-boys from murdering ſome gentlemen, who had been very active againſt them, and whoſe names are mentioned in his depoſition, he further ſwears " that his reaſon for knowing the ſaid ſchemes and deſigns to be true is, that the ſaid Dr. Butler did ſolemnly bind him to the following oath, to be true and faithful to the church of Rome, and to promote its good, and to be faithful to him, the ſaid Dr. Butler, his archbiſhop," and having ſigned ſuch oath in writing, Dr. Butler he ſwears told him, " that theſe riſings of the White-boys were ſet on foot ſolely for the advancement of the Roman Catholic faith, and the *extirpation of hereſy* in this kingdom, and that as there was but one God, there ſhould be but one religion, and to reſtore the ſame *Vetus Hibernia*, by making her faithful ſons riſe in rebellion to ſupport France or other countries, to eſtabliſh Prince Charles on the Britiſh throne. Informant ſwears, he hath no other motive for diſcovering ſaid conſpiracy, but to preſerve peace, and to prevent effuſion of blood in this kingdom."

The information of David Landregin, of the county of Tipperary, farmer, ſworn before John Hewetſon, Eſq. a magiſtrate of ſaid county, on the 15th March, 1767.

In this the ſaid Landregin ſwears, " that he was enliſted in March 1762, in the White-boy ſociety, by Mr. Robert Keatinge of ſaid county; that he attended their parades, that he was upon ſeveral expeditions, and was *commanded by Father Nicholas Sheehy*, and Edmond Sheehy; that at one of their meetings Father Nicholas Sheehy adminiſtered the oaths; and that at another meeting he propoſed to five hundred of them to attack the town of Clogheen, and to murder the Earl (at preſent Marquis) of Drogheda, and to get the arms of his troops," and he declares their object was to fight for King Charles (the then Pretender).

And the informations of Thomas Rawley, of the county of Tipperary, farmer, ſworn before the ſame magiſtrate, in the ſame month, gives the ſame account of the objects of the White-boys, and the activity of Father Nicholas Sheehy, with this addition, " that at a meeting of the White-boys at Myre, in 1763, it was reſolved on to burn the houſes of the Proteſtants,

Digitized by Google

tants, and to maſſacre them in one night, after a landing made by the French, as was expected."

The information of Mr. James Farrel, of Rehill, in the county of Tipperary, gentleman, ſworn before John Hewetſon, Eſq. the 18th April, 1766.

Mr. Farrel in this ſwears, "that he was enliſted into the Society of White-boys by the late Father Nicholas Sheehy, under the oath of allegiance and fidelity to Prince Charles, and the King of France; that he *received his commiſſion as a Major in their ſervice, and his pay regularly*:" and he ſwears, "that the heads of ſaid rebellion are James Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, Pierce Creagh, titular biſhop of Waterford, Dr. Butler, titular biſhop of Cork, Dr. Fitzſimons, titular archbiſhop of Dublin," with a long liſt of pariſh prieſts and inferior clergy, too numerous to inſert, "each of whom ſupplied ſaid Father *Nicholas Sheehy with money, to pay ſaid White-boys, and to ſupport ſaid inſurrection." I might here add the reſolutions of the different grand juries of Ireland, from time to time, the debates in Parliament, the various acts made by the Iriſh legiſlature againſt them, the rules of the Society of White-boys, *almoſt ſimilar to thoſe of the United-Iriſhmen*, &c. &c. but I have preferred the evidence upon oath of the parties implicated, which can leave no doubt upon any impartial man's mind, that the White-boys were then confederated for the purpoſes of treaſon and rebellion†.

The White-boys firſt made their appearance, and aſſumed their appellation in 1759, when Monſieur Conflans and the other French fleets were expected with troops on the coaſt of Ireland; upon the failure of that great expedition they conti-

---

* As to Father Sheehy's declaration of innocence at the gallows, every man at all acquainted with "Catholic Ireland" knows, that almoſt every criminal of the Catholic religion dies at the gallows proteſting his innocence. And as to Mr. Plowden's extract of part of a report from a commiſſion, inſtituted to enquire into the cauſes of theſe diſturbances, viz. "that the authors of theſe *riots* conſiſted indiſcriminately of perſons of different perſuaſions, and that no marks of diſaffection to his Majeſty's perſon or government, appeared in any of theſe people," (ſee p. 339), I can find no ſuch report, but have found *this paragraph verbatim* in the White-Hall Evening Poſt, of the 4th of May, 1762, which paragraph was no doubt written in Ireland, and ſent over here for inſertion, by ſome abettor of this inſurrection, in order to deceive the people of England: a *practice very ſyſtematically purſued of late years.*

† The original depoſitions from whence theſe were furniſhed to me, are now in the Crown-Office in Ireland.

nued

Digitized by Google

nued quiet for ſome time; in 1762, in conſequence of an expected invaſion from France, they appeared again in great force: upon the peace with France theſe tumults ceaſed; they were revived in all their fury in 1784, then in 1787, and again in 1789, previous to the agitation of the Catholic Queſtion, at which period they *framed and adminiſtered the following oath of allegiance:* "We are bound to his Majeſty King George the Third, and his ſucceſſors to the crown, *ſo for this preſent year* 1789, we promiſe faithfully the ſame obedience, and alſo *whilſt we live ſubject to the ſame* government*.

The White-boy inſurrection of 1784, when at its height, was put an end to by†, "the loyal and vigorous efforts of Dr. Troy then the Roman Catholic Biſhop of Oſſory, and the clergy of his dioceſe, for which ſucceſsful exertions he received the moſt ſatisfactory acknowledgments from the Government," as Mr. Plowden informs us. In all the various inſurrections in Ireland of White-boys, and Right-boys, Hearts of Oak, and Hearts of Steel, Defenders and United Iriſhmen, &c. &c. under ſome plauſible and popular grievance, the ſecret deſign and real object have been always concealed; and whilſt the rabble and their inferior leaders have ſhewn themſelves, the principal contrivers and fomenters have kept themſelves concealed, and generally have eſcaped detection and juſtice.

Great is the influence which the Roman Catholic religion by its tenets gives to its clergy, over thoſe of their communion. It is notorious, that the Iriſh Catholics, taken collectively, are the moſt ſincere believers that the church of Rome can at this day boaſt of in chriſtendom. Any perſon who has paſſed any time in Ireland, and beheld the multitudes of that perſuaſion crowding to chapel and confeſſion, when he has ſeen them paying a blind adoration to the inferior clergy, moſt of them groſſly illiterate, and ſome of them ſcandalouſly debauched; when he has known, that this clergy have been able to prevent their flocks from frequenting *patterns* and *hurling matches*, the moſt favourite amuſements of the Iriſh peaſantry; and when

* Sir Richard Muſgrave, in the firſt volume of his third edition of his Hiſtory of the different Rebellions in Ireland, ſtates, "that Mr. Conway, an Iriſh Roman Catholic gentleman reſident at Paris, uſed to remit money to the White-boys, on the part and by orders of the French Government, ſoon after their firſt organization, and that ſome Catholic merchants of the Province of Munſter, who received and diſtributed it, were afterwards members of the Catholic committee, in 1792.

† Hiſt. Review, ſecond volume, p. 170.

he

Digitized by Google

he has been told by his own Catholic ſervants. that there are no privations to which they do not cheerfully ſubmit during Lent, when ordered by their prieſts, * he cannot ſurely doubt, that inſurrections would not be ſo frequent in Ireland, if this claſs of men did their duty as clergymen and ſubjects; and when this argument has (as I am informed) been preſſed upon ſome of them, they have moſt unwarrantably pretended, that they had loſt their influence over their flocks, whereas it is notorious, that the contrary is the fact. I avoid enlarging upon ſo tender a ſubject, and ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that unleſs *the ſtate can deviſe ſome means of making it the intereſt* of this claſs of men, to keep their flocks in obedience, all expedients for the permanent tranquillity of that country will, I greatly fear, be ineffectual. (Appendix, No. I. Third Part.)

To return to Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review. I find from p. 348 to p. 425, a philippic againſt the effects of "the monopolizing ſyſtem of Oligarchy," and an account of the ſtruggle of the Iriſh *Patriots* againſt "Engliſh intereſt" and "Engliſh aſcendancy." As to the firſt, I pretend not to defend its abuſes, and rejoice that by a legiſlative Union, an end has been put to the domineering influence of particular families, which was often exerted for the purpoſes of family aggrandizement, rather than the ſubſtantial intereſts of the State; however, I muſt at the ſame time obſerve, that as this domineering influence was never made one of the ſpecific pretences of rebellion, I conclude, that however *angry* patriots might have been provoked at the uſe ſometimes made of this intereſt, the body of the people was no ways oppreſſed by it; nay, ſome of thoſe noblemen who had the largeſt ſhare of this "oligarchic influence" were the beſt landlords, and the moſt popular characters in their ſeveral counties.

And with reſpect to the ſucceſsful ſtruggles made by the *patriots* againſt the "Engliſh intereſt and aſcendancy", I ſhall here give the late Lord Clare's opinion of the conſequences of it.

"But, fatally for the peace of Ireland, from the year 1782 to this hour (March 13, 1793) the policy of men, who call themſelves the friends of the people, has been, to make Ireland a ſcene of embarraſſment to the Britiſh government, and to loſe no opportunity which they could embrace to foment jealouſies and diſunion between this country and Great Britain. The policy has been, upon every occa-

* For the truth of this repreſentation, I appeal to every Iriſh gentleman of truth and candour.

ſion,

Digitized by Google

tion, to hold up Great Britain to the people as their natural enemy and rival, and to teach them to believe, that the general intereſts of the empire muſt, in every inſtance, be ſacrificed to the local advantages of Ireland; till at length they have raiſed a general outcry againſt Engliſh influence and Engliſh connection."

Mute is now that voice which, in the councils of Ireland, ſo often predicted the fatal conſequences of party ſtruggles, popular encroachments, and miniſterial timidity.—Lord Clare is no more—but he has left to poſterity an invaluable legacy, in his opinions of the cauſes of the convulſions of Ireland. That great man, when living, was maligned by the knaves and dupes of faction; the eyes of many of the latter have been ſince opened, and at length they have diſcovered the extent of his political ſagacity.

I ſhall paſs over Mr. Plowden's comments and ſarcaſms upon Lord Townſend's adminiſtration, in p. 418. The anniverſary of this nobleman's birth-day, is ſtill celebrated with enthuſiaſm in Ireland*. I cannot ſtop to follow this writer through his minutiæ of public accounts, news-papers, news-writers, Dr. Lucas, &c. &c. Lord Townſend's adminiſtration was extremely lenient to the Catholics of Ireland, and highly popular with all parties in that country. He was ſucceeded by Lord Harcourt, during whoſe government "was † opened (as Mr. P. expreſſes it) the door of civil liberty, through which the great body of Iriſh Catholics were afterwards admitted to the rights of ſubjects." And leſt his Iriſh readers ſhould make their own reflections upon the motive for "opening this door," he adds, "true it is, that the Britiſh miniſtry began at this time to be alarmed at the too well-grounded diſcontents of the King's American ſubjects: the *conſtitutional maxim, no repreſentation, no taxation*, was fully conſidered *and carried into action*, on the other ſide of the Atlantic‡." I muſt inform my readers, that by the "door then opened," this writer alludes to two bills; one for ſecuring money, lent by Iriſh Catholics on mortgages, and another to enable them under certain proviſions to take long leaſes; which meaſures were both the ſpontaneous acts of a liberal government, which

* In Lord Townſend's adminiſtration the octennial bill paſſed; previous to which, Parliaments in Ireland continued during a whole reign without a new election. Lord Townſend was alſo the firſt Viceroy who made Ireland his conſtant reſidence, his predeceſſors having generally committed the government to Lords Juſtices, during their abſence in England.

† Hiſt. Review, p. 426. ‡ Ibid. p. 425.

had

Digitized by Google

had no reaſon at that time to be intimidated by the example of America, becauſe that party in Ireland, which poſſeſſed the whole power of the ſtate, civil and military, was not only able and willing to ſuppreſs any ſymptoms of rebellion in their country, but was alſo very averſe from theſe meaſures; in ſo much ſo, that it required great management by the Government to induce them to conſent to paſs theſe bills.

It is obſervable enough, that moſt of the Catholic writers have taken great pains to convince "Catholic Ireland," that the *conceſſions* (as they at firſt, and *rights*, as they have ſince denominated them) which have been, from time to time, obtained, were owing not to "the open and unſuſpecting liberality" of Parliaments, but (to uſe a modern and not very intelligible phraſe) "to the wiſdom and *unbroken* energies*" of the Iriſh Roman Catholics themſelves. Nor can it have eſcaped the obſervation of thoſe at all acquainted with the writings of ſome of that party, how often the example of American independence has been held up to the people of "Catholic Ireland."

In Mr. Plowden's *ſketch* of Lord Harcourt's Adminiſtration, we have a † long account of the proceedings of the Iriſh Parliament, culled from their journals and the newſpapers of the day, with a *ſketch* of the debates in our Parliament, in 1776, in which an haſty expreſſion of Mr. Temple Luttrel, (Hiſt. Review, p. 445), uttered in the heat of debate, is triumphantly given as a faithful picture of the ſtate of Ireland at that time.—Mr. P. has alſo given his readers, in this part of his work, a moſt moving *epiſode* of increaſing debts, declining trade, *tontines*, taxes, patriots, and *concordatum*, &c. &c. &c.

Nevertheleſs, as Ireland was ſo tranquil as to enable the government to ſpare (Hiſt. Review, p. 432) four thouſand of the troops, on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, for the ſervice in America, I muſt take it for granted, without going into ſuch minute details, that *matters were not then quite ſo bad in Ireland*, as he has repreſented them (Appendix, No. II. Third Part).

Lord Buckinghamſhire ſucceeded Lord Harcourt; and Mr. P. informs, that (Hiſt. Review, p. 446.) "he went over the

* An expreſſion made uſe of in a pamphlet, publiſhed in Dublin, in Auguſt 1803, by a Catholic Barriſter, entitled "An Iriſh Catholic's Advice," &c. &c.

† Hiſt. Review, p. 434, et ſequentes.

ſworn

Digitized by Google

ſworn ſervant of the Britiſh Cabinet; and *leſt there ſhould be a knot in the thread of ſubſerviency*, * he took over his attorney, Mr. Heron, as his ſecretary."

"His Lordſhip found that country in a moſt deplorable ſtate of diſtreſs," (Hiſt. Review, p. 447.) that is, Lord Buckinghamſhire found a great number of the working people deprived of employment by our rupture with America; who were at length relieved by public charity. Ireland, particularly the northern part of it, ſuffered extremely by this war with our coloniſts; America being then a great market for the ſale of Iriſh produce. But as the Parliament of that country did not declare the war, but only followed the meaſures of Great Britain, it is not anſwerable for the temporary evils which it produced in Ireland.

To the adminiſtration of Lord North, Mr. P. (Hiſt. Review, p. 458.) gives "the ſingular and important credit of having firſt opened the door of liberality (this is his beſt metaphor, and he repeats it on all occaſions) to the Roman Catholics of Ireland."

"It may have been uniformly remarked, (he obſerves) that the Iriſh have been ever profuſely grateful for every thing, which had come to them in the form of conceſſion and kindneſs." Now if by *the Iriſh*, he means the maſs of the Roman Catholics of that country, I muſt flatly contradict this aſſertion; and the events of every year ſince the conceſſions, and particularly of 1798, amply juſtify my denial.

Mr. Plowden next informs us, (Hiſt. Review, p. 463.) "that on the eleventh day after the Britiſh Houſe of Commons had given the liberal example of univerſal aſſent to Sir George Saville's motion in favour of the Roman Catholics of England, Mr. Gardiner, on the 25th May, 1778, made a motion in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, and the queſtion being put, that leave be given to bring in heads of a bill for the Relief of His Majeſty's Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland, Mr. Gardiner, the Hon. Barry Barry, and Mr. Yelverton, were ordered to prepare and bring in the ſame." This bill, to enable them to take leaſes for 999 years, and to aboliſh all the penal ſtatutes againſt diſcoveries, was accordingly *brought in* by Mr. Gardiner, afterwards created Lord Mountjoy, and ſince

* This ſublime metaphor, taken from *Sempſtreſſry*, being above my comprehenſion, I did apply to every one of my female acquaintances, who have unanimouſly declared, that it is to them unintelligible, and that they believe it is nonſenſe.

Digitized by Google

ſlain at the battle of New Roſs, in 1798, by the united Catholic army; and it *was ſeconded* by Mr. O'Neal, afterwards created Lord O'Neal, and ſince murdered in 1798, at Antrim, by a party of Catholic emancipators. This bill was paſſed after great oppoſition, not from the government, but from the independent Country-party in Parliament; and according to Mr. Plowden's expreſſion, (p. 464.) "it gave them (the Catholics) a footing to ſtand upon, in any future application to the Crown or Parliament, for a full participation of every bleſſing of our free Conſtitution; it was the more welcome to the Catholics, from their conviction, that a breach once made in that *penal fortreſs*, it was impoſſible that it ſhould hold out much longer."

If I *miſtake not*, however, they then, by a public declaration, profeſſed that they were fully ſatisfied by this (to them at that time great) conceſſion.

We next find the Britiſh Parliament (Hiſt. Review, p. 477) "taking an active part and intereſt in the concerns of Ireland, which (Mr. P. admits) did credit to her liberal ſympathy for her ſiſter kingdom." This is the *firſt* teſtimony of approbation which I have met with in this work; and am happy to have it to quote, as it has been moſt diſagreeable to me, to be obliged to notice the want of candour and of accuracy, which I have hitherto all along been obliged to animadvert upon.

"A free trade" (ibid. p. 506.) became, in 1779, the next popular meaſure in Ireland. The great manufacturing towns of our country took the alarm, without any foundation; and the Miniſter of England was obliged, for a ſhort time, to poſtpone the meaſure. The Iriſh *patriots*, enraged that the haſte of Lord North did not keep pace with their own precipitation, exerted all their eloquence againſt "Engliſh intereſt, and Miniſterial duplicity." The more temperate and wiſe part of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, counteracted, in ſome meaſure, theſe impreſſions, by their good ſenſe and perſuaſive reaſoning*.

Ireland next arrayed her Volunteers; and, by the formidable aſpect which ſhe preſented to the enemy, deterred France from attempting an invaſion. So far I muſt applaud; but, when ſoon after we find the Iriſh patriots, in the moment of arduous foreign war, and colonial rebellion, ungenerouſly,

* None more effectually than the late Right Hon. Hely Hutchinſon.

Mr.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Plowden says (p. 506) "*spiritedly* resolving upon a six-months money-bill, with a view of obtaining an enlargement of their commerce," the admiration of their conduct must be somewhat lessened.

In 1780 Ireland obtained her free trade; I am satisfied to let that part of Mr. Plowden's work, from page 477 to page 559, pass without further comment. He has given the debates in Parliament upon the free trade of Ireland on both sides. Those readers therefore who wish for information upon this subject, may turn to his work and form their own conclusions of the manner in which that measure was carried, and make their own reflections upon the conduct of all the parties.

None rejoiced more than I did at the extension of Irish commerce, and I trust that every measure will be in future pursued to increase the industry, wealth, and civilization of Ireland, (Appendix No. III. Third Part) and to give content, if possible, to all our fellow-subjects in that kingdom. Great Britain must however keep power in her own hands, until Ireland, by the cordial attachment of all her inhabitants to the throne and government, shall cease to give her any more fears upon that head, than our countrymen of Yorkshire or Cornwall. *Should that happy period never arrive*, we have yet the consolation to reflect, that the most respectable, intelligent, and *powerful* part of the Irish nation, are at this moment, thank God! in sentiment and affection "the brethren of Britons." May it be our care to cherish our brethren, and bring over to them every convert in our power! Let shallow declaimers and designing politicians *now* make what representations they please, *that party* has been hitherto the great bond of connexion between the two kingdoms, and is at this day the only substantial link of the Union.

"* On the 31st January, 1782, we find Mr. Gardiner again moving for leave to bring in heads of a bill for the further relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland." On the † 5th of February the bill was introduced by Mr. Dillon (Mr. Gardiner being indisposed). In the debate which took place upon it on the 15th of the month, the following delightful picture of the *religious harmony* of Ireland was given by the Attorney-General.

"I have seen at Monaghan at the same moment three prodigious large congregations flowing out from a meeting-house, a church, and

* Hist. Review, p. 559. † Ibid. p. 561.

Digitized by Google

2844

a mass-house; and as the individuals that composed them had joined in the street, they have blended and united into one body with every mark of affection and good-will; that was true religious toleration, and the most striking examples of it were to be found in the North." P. 563.

What a melancholy change has since taken place in the carriage of the Protestants and Catholics of Ireland towards each other in that province, as well as in every other part of that divided kingdom! *Two of the acts prepared by Mr. Gardiner were passed, the first enabled Roman Catholics to take, hold, and dispose of lands and hereditaments in the same manner as Protestants, and removed several penalties from Catholic clergymen, taking the oath of allegiance prescribed by the Irish acts of 13 and 19 Geo. 3d, "and repealed the most noxious parts of the acts of Anne, Geo. 1st and Geo. 2d." The second bill was for the education of the Catholics—it was entitled "An act to allow persons professing the Popish religion to teach school in this kingdom, and for the regulating the education of Papists, and also to repeal parts of certain laws relative to the guardianship of their children." (P. 580).

Upon this subject I find the following very invidious observation made in this work, (p. 573) "fortunately for the Catholics, Mr. Gardiner's bill was not made a government question, or otherwise it would have fallen before the same majority, that had uniformly opposed every constitutional question that had been brought before them."

This insinuation I do not hesitate to pronounce as illiberal as it is without foundation: the spirit of concession to the Irish Catholics, and of demand upon Great Britain, having at that time pervaded every class of men, from the servant of government to the independent volunteer of Ireland.

In the course of the debates at this period in the Irish House of Commons upon Mr. Gardiner's bill, I find Mr. Grattan expressing his opinion†,

"That so long as the penal code remains, *we* never can be a great nation, the penal code is the shell, in which the protestant power has been hatched, and now it is *become a bird*, it must burst the shell, or

---

* Mr. Gardiner's original bill was divided into three bills: the two first were passed: the third, "a bill to enable Protestants and Catholics to intermarry" was negatived by a majority of eight. See Hist. Review, p. 581. It was afterwards in 1792 passed into a law, and Protestants and Catholics now may, and frequently do, intermarry.

† Hist. Review, p. 572.

perish

Digitized by Google

periſh in it;" and his reaſons for then making further conceſſions to the Iriſh Catholics was "as the moſt likely means of obtaining a victory over the *prejudices of Catholics*, and our own," he gave his conſent to Mr. Gardiner's bill, "becauſe he would not keep * *two millions* of his fellow-ſubjects in a ſtate of ſlavery."

Mr. Henry Flood ſeems to have been one of that ſmall number of politicians in whoſe mind the experience of the paſt excited ſome diſtruſt of the future †.

"He had always wiſhed to emboſom the Catholics in the body of the ſtate; yet without courting praiſe on the one hand, or fearing cenſure on the other, he would deliver his free opinion on this great ſubject. Above five years ago (ſaid he) a law was paſſed, granting the Roman Catholics infinitely leſs than was then propoſed, the day was celebrated with rejoicing, and it was thought they had reconciled every party: he was ſorry to hear gentlemen ſpeak as if nothing had been done for them. In the former laws, leaſes for years were granted to them, upon the avowed principle of reſtraining them from any influence in elections. This law went beyond toleration; it gave them a power, and tended to make a change in the ſtate. If they gave them an *equal power with the Proteſtants*, the preſent conſtitution could not ſurvive; though they wiſhed to extend toleration to Roman Catholics, they did not wiſh to ſhake the government; they ſhould allow them to purchaſe lands, but ſhould carefully guard againſt their poſſeſſing any power in the ſtate."

Mr. Fox in the debate in our Houſe of Commons in 1782, on the ſtate of Ireland, declared,

"That the *inteſtine diviſions* of that country were no more: the *religious prejudices* of former ages were forgotten, and the Roman Catholics being reſtored to the rights of men and of citizens, would become an *acceſſion of ſtrength* and wealth to the empire. Upon the whole he was convinced, that the Iriſh deſired nothing more ardently than proper grounds for being moſt cordially united to Great Britain, and *he was ſure* they would be attached to this country *even to bigotry*."

Mr. Fox was then miniſter of England, and no doubt this ſtateſman ſpoke ſincerely the convictions of his mind.—Alas! how often are the moſt ſanguine and the beſt founded expectations of mankind diſappointed!

---

* Hiſt. Review, p. 572. By ſome *unaccountable means* the Catholic population of Ireland has ſince that time *been doubled*, the number of people in Ireland being now, 1803, *as we are told*, five millions, viz. four of Catholics, and one of Proteſtants. Thomas Townſhend, Eſq. in a letter publiſhed in London, in June 1801, makes the population of Ireland *ſix* millions. Could no mode be adopted for aſcertaining the exact force of this Catholic argument?

† Hiſt. Review, p. 571.

I muſt

Digitized by Google

I muſt refer my readers to page 564 et ſeqq. of Mr. Plowden's work for an account of the *volunteer parliament* of Dungannon, aſſembled in February 1782, their proceedings, reſolutions, &c. &c. And with all the reſpect due to the old volunteers, if the conduct of the Iriſh yeomanry of 1798, who after ſaving their country, retired to their homes, without making any claims upon Great Britain but for her admiration and her gratitude, be compared to their's, no friend to the intereſts and tranquillity of Ireland can for a moment doubt, which of theſe armed bodies is entitled to the largeſt ſhare of applauſe from their country.

The late Lord Clare ſpeaking of the old volunteers, amongſt other expreſſions makes uſe of the following:

"They certainly did upon every occaſion, where their ſervices were required, exert themſelves with effect to maintain the internal peace of their country. The gentlemen of Ireland were all in their ranks, and maintained a decided influence upon them. But I ſhall never ceaſe to think, that the appeals made to that army by the angry politicians of the day, were dangerous and ill-judged in the extreme, and that they eſtabliſhed a precedent for rebellion, which has ſince been followed up with *full ſucceſs*."

I learn from the whole of this part of Mr. Plowden's work, that at that period claims on the part of Ireland, and conceſſions on the part of Great Britain, were reciprocal. Upon the change of the miniſtry, in 1782, I find Lord Carliſle reſigning his troubleſome government; and receiving an addreſs (p. 597) which the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, with *five* diſſenting voices only, had voted as a juſt tribute to his ſincere efforts to promote the welfare of that kingdom.

The Duke of Portland ſucceeded him (p. 586); his Grace was obliged to yield to the torrent, which perhaps at that time no human ingenuity could have ſtemmed. During the adminiſtration of Lord Carliſle, I find an Iriſh patriot, then in oppoſition to government, declaring,

"that Ireland was in ſtrength—She had acquired that ſtrength by the weakneſs of Britain; for Ireland was ſaved, when America was loſt; when England conquered, Ireland was coerced; when ſhe was defeated, Ireland was relieved; and when Charles-Town was taken, the Mutiny and Sugar Bills were altered. Have you not, all of you, when you heard of a defeat, at the ſame moment *condoled* with England, and *congratulated* Ireland?" P. 574.

Mr. Plowden does not tell his reader whether this queſtion was anſwered in the affirmative.

A profound obſerver of human nature has remarked, that "dans l'adverſite de nos meilleurs amis nous trouvons quelque choſe,

Digitized by Google

choſe, *qui ne nous deplaiſt pas.*" In the expreſſions of the Iriſh orator quoted by Mr. P. one certainly can trace more of the ſpirit of the Duc de Rochefoucault's nation than of his genius.

If ſuch was the temper of the Iriſh nation at that day, we may bluſh, but we need not wonder, that his Majeſty was obliged to ſend a meſſage to the Parliament of that kingdom*, and to offer them a *carte blanche*, that they might fill it up with Iriſh grievances. We find Mr. Grattan ſupporting adminiſtration, and undertaking to become the tranquillizer of Ireland: the ſimple repeal, &c. &c. was paſſed; a † hint thrown out in the debate of the utility of eſtabliſhing dock-yards in Ireland; and a *final adjuſtment* upon all conſtitutional points between the two kingdoms was completed; the whole nation, with the exception of *two individuals* ‡ only, being perfectly convinced §, "that there could no longer exiſt any conſtitutional queſtion between the two nations, that can diſturb their mutual tranquillity". A ſolemn thankſgiving was next offered to heaven; and all was union, cordial affection, and gratitude in Ireland.—*Pro hac vice.*

"But it appears," obſerves Mr. Plowden, "as if it had been ‖ *written in the book of fate*, that the felicity of Ireland, whilſt independent and ſeparate from Great Britain, ſhould be ſhort-lived, precarious, and unſtable."

We accordingly find that it was ſoon ¶ diſcovered by Mr. Flood, that the ſimple repeal did not eſtabliſh the independence of Ireland, and Ireland was again thrown into a ferment by Mr. Flood's diſcovery.

This gentleman ** and his party contended that a repeal of the declaratory act 6 Geo. 1ſt. without a poſitive renunciation by Great Britain, of the right to legiſlate for Ireland internally and externally, did not eſtabliſh the conſtitutional independence of that country; Mr. Grattan and his party inſiſted that it did, and they prevailed. *The volunteers*, at a meeting held in Dublin in June 1782, alſo declared, that a †† repeal of the 6th Geo.

---

* Hiſt. Review, from p. 600 to p. 613.

† Ibid. p. 609.

‡ Sir S. Broadſtreet, recorder; and Mr. Walſh.

§ Hiſt. Review, p. 610.

‖ In which caſe, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the *Patriots* of Ireland were choſen by fate, as the fit inſtruments for fulfilling her decrees.

¶ Hiſt. Review, p. 616.

** Ibid. p. 609.

†† This meaſure of conceſſion and conciliation on the part of Great Britain was framed on the ſenſe of the Iriſh oppoſition in Parliament, who undertook to point out what would completely ſatisfy Ireland. See Lord Clare's ſpeech, 1800.

1ſt.

Digitized by Google

1ſt. by the Britiſh Parliament, made in purſuance of the addreſſes, was conſidered by them a compleat renunciation of all the claims contained in the ſaid ſtatute, and as ſuch they accepted it, and deemed it ſatisfactory *.—So ended what Mr. Burke has called the Iriſh Revolution of 1782.

" And thus (ſaid the late Lord Clare) was atchieved with a rapidity unexampled (in three days) and by means the moſt extraordinary a meaſure, which was then thought to be a *final adjuſtment* of all political claims and controverſies between the two nations, and a full ſecurity for their conſtitutional connexion †."

The Parliaments of both kingdoms have however been ſince *twice* embroiled upon the moſt momentous queſtions—the commercial propoſitions and the regency.

The laſt memorable event which cloſes this period of Iriſh hiſtory, and Mr. Plowden's firſt volume, was a review of the Belfaſt volunteers on the 31ſt of July 1782. Mr. Plowden gives the following account

‡ " of this truly glorious exhibition; a volunteer encampment of nearly three thouſand men, and the volunteer garriſon of upwards of one thouſand, all compleatly clothed, armed, and accoutred. Anonymous papers in thouſands were diſperſed through the camp and garriſon; *every private was taught, that he was competent to legiſlate, and conſequently to expreſs his ſentiments on the moſt ſpeculative points:* declaration, renunciation, ſimple repeal, legal ſecurity, better ſecurity, [no ſecurity was forgotten, I ſuppoſe] and bill of rights were all laid before them, and they were to inſtruct their delegates on theſe points"!

§ Their delegates accordingly aſſembled on the 3d Auguſt. In an addreſs propoſed to be made to the reviewing general (the late Lord Charlemont), a clauſe having been inſerted of their being *fully ſatisfied*, a debate of *eleven hours* took place, and upon a diviſion this clauſe was expunged!

‖ " Thus (obſerves Mr. Plowden) by the efforts and exertions of a wiſe and liberal adminiſtration, were the liberties of Ireland *reſtored*; peace, unity, and content ¶ diffuſed through a *revived* nation, and the

---

* Hiſt. Review, p. 626. The Ulſter volunteers came to the ſame reſolution, 21ſt June, 1802.

† Lord Clare's ſpeech in 1800. This ſpeech is the ableſt epitome of the hiſtory of Iriſh folly and rebellion that ever was, or perhaps ever will be, given.

‡ Laſt page of firſt vol. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

¶ He forgot, I ſuppoſe, that in the paragraph preceding, he had informed his reader that the Belfaſt delegates had declared that they were *not content*,

proſperity

Digitized by Google

prosperity and glory of the British empire increased by adding strength, vigour, and felicity to that important part of it!"

If these expressions were merely meant as the effusions of a poetical fancy, I might let them pass; but when they are given to *his* readers as the sober statements of historical truth, I think it my duty to inform mine, (though perhaps it is scarcely necessary) that since 1782, a spirit of innovation, disturbance, disunion, and discontent has never ceased to prevail in Ireland.

Since 1782, which from the *consequences* of the transactions of that year, may with some propriety be called the Irish Revolution, the peace of that unfortunate kingdom has been constantly and fatally interrupted by the folly, intrigues, and practices of *Patriots*, Agitators, Right-boys, Peep-of-day-boys, Conventions, AggregateBodies, Catholic Committees, Tarring and Feathering Committees, Defenders, Assassins, *houghers* of men, *houghers* of cattle, associators, Whig clubs, Saint James's Delegates, Exchequer-street Delegates, National Congresses, Catholic Parliaments, Emancipators, United Irishmen, Reformers, Revolutionists, Societies of Peace, and Societies of War: and the return made for "the strength, vigour, and felicity," then added to Ireland, has been the desperate effort of a formidable party, its *aiders and abettors*, to sever that kingdom from England, and to connect it with republican France.

From Mr. Plowden's own *text*, with the help of a few *comments* of my own, I shall be able most satisfactorily to prove this statement, to such of my unprejudiced readers as may have any doubts upon the subject.

The boasted Irish constitution of 1782, which was to have put a final end to all jealousy between the two countries, was hardly established, when an Irish cause, (which eighteen months before had been removed by a *writ of error* into our Court of King's Bench) having been decided by Lord Mansfield, Ireland was again thrown into a ferment: "her constitution was assailed, and the independence of Ireland was discovered to be a bubble*:" A bill was accordingly instantly brought into our House of Common, by Mr. (now Lord) Grenville, "for removing all doubts which have arisen, or may arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the Parliaments and Courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature; and appeals to our Courts, and writs of error were abolished." The Bill passed without a dissenting voice: Ireland publicly expressed her gratitude, and for the moment was satisfied.

* Hist. Review, p. 7, second volume.

In

Digitized by Google

In March 1783, a new order of knighthood was eſtabliſhed*, "to give additional luſtre to the national conſequence, which at this time appeared to be the favourite object of all ranks of people." Letters patent were paſſed for the creation of the order of St. Patrick, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed noblemen of Ireland were inveſted with this new dignity.

I ſhall paſs over the plan for ſettling the emigrant Geneveſe in Ireland; this project of introducing a colony of diſcontented foreign Republicans into that country luckily failed†.

In the month of July following I find the volunteer ‡ army of Ireland, inſiſting upon a more equal repreſention of the people in Parliament, and aſſembling in convention at Liſburn in the North: I find all the other provincial armies correſponding upon this ſubject, and uniting for the purpoſe "of reſtoring to its *antient* vigour and purity, a decayed, enfeebled, and ſickly conſtitution." In Auguſt the armed National Convention of Dungannon, undertook the care of this "decayed, enfeebled, and ſickly," ſtate-patient§.

And whilſt the hectic of this unfortunate ſtate-patient was daily encreaſing, the Lord Lieutenant, Northington, met the Iriſh Parliament. The debates which took place were not of the moſt compoſing nature, as may be ſeen by a reference to Mr. Plowden's work, who ſeems determined that theſe precious morſels of Iriſh eloquence, ſhall be preſerved for the benefit of poſterity: a very violent attack was made upon the conduct of the late Viceroy, Lord Temple, ſome popular philippics uttered againſt the expenditure of the public money, the gallery clapped hands for the *patriots* within the houſe, and the weavers rioted for *thoſe* without‖.

Lord Northington became as unpopular as his predeceſſor, becauſe his Excellency wanted to prevail upon the volunteers to diſembody themſelves, and return to their farms and their looms: this was violently oppoſed by the *patriots*, who hoped with the aſſiſtance of "the armed Majeſty of the people," to carry their favourite meaſure of a reform in Parliament¶.

Another grand national armed convention was aſſembled in Dublin, in September 1783. The Bill for a reform of Parliament was laid before it, it was read, committed, engroſſed,

---

* Hiſt. Review, p. 22, ſecond volume.
† Ibid, p. 25, et ſeq.
‡ Ibid. p. 33, et ſeq.
§ See the remedies preſcribed in p. 40, et ſeq.
‖ Hiſt. Review, p. 43. vol. ii. ¶ Ibid. p. 56.

&c.

Digitized by Google

&c. &c. with all the formalities of Parliament, and then presented to the Houſe of Commons on the point of the bayonet. The Iriſh Houſe of Commons with ſpirited indignation ſcouted it; Lord Northington diſſolved this armed convention, and became more and more unpopular, with every red-coated legiſlator*.

At this period I find Mr. Daly, an independent gentleman of large fortune, and one of the beſt ſpeakers in the Houſe, declaring, "this is the time to draw a line, and I do rely upon it, I do pledge myſelf for the conſequence, that if Parliament act with firmneſs, the people will be content; in a ſhort time they will deſpiſe the promoters of faction, and all their boaſted menaces will vaniſh in the air; but if Parliament recede one ſtep more, it will fall into a gulf of inevitable deſtruction†." Reform was accordingly for a while abandoned; but leſt the Iriſh nation ſhould recover its ſenſes, the Abſentee Tax was next brought forward by the Patriots‡. The Miniſtry in England was ſoon after changed, and Lord Northington was ſucceeded in the government by the Duke of Rutland, in February, 1784§.

"The nation (Mr. P. informs us) was then at the height of a political fever."

A riot had taken place between the troops and the citizens at Iſland-bridge, in the ſuburbs of Dublin: the whole garriſon was the next day drawn up on parade, and the offended citizens were deſired to point out in the ranks the ſoldiers who had inſulted them, who were delivered up to juſtice. The puniſhment of theſe offenders however did not ſatisfy the mob of Dublin, who determined to take puniſhment into their own hands; and accordingly every wretched ſtraggling ſoldier they could lay hands upon was *houghed*, i. e. the back ſinews of his legs cut acroſs by ſome ſharp inſtrument, and the wretch crippled for life. Lord Carhampton brought in a bill to reſtrain this practice; but the ſoldiers were *ſtill houghed*‖.

In March, in this year, Mr. Flood again preſented to the Iriſh Houſe of Common his Bill for Reform, which was again negatived by a large majority, in conſequence a mob broke into the Houſe of Commons, and thoſe members who had op-

---

* Hiſt. Review, p. 59, ſecond volume.
† Ibid, p. 64.
‡ Ibid, p. ibid.
§ Ibid. p. 74.
‖ Ibid, p. 79.

poſed

Digitized by Google

poſed this popular meaſure, were inſulted in the ſtreets, and libelled in the news-papers.

I next find James Napper Tandy, then a broken ſhop-keeper, and ſince Chef-de-Brigade in the French ſervice, at the head of his "aggregate bodies," attempting to overawe the Parliament and the Government, and regulating the police of the Iriſh metropolis*.

The † introduction of a Bill for the better paving and lighting the city, again threw Dublin into a ferment: an addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant, after much oppoſition from the Patriots, cloſed this Seſſion; in an amendment propoſed by Mr. Foſter, (to whom Ireland owes ſo much on account of his ſyſtem of corn laws) was the following paragraph: "they (the Commons) entertained the warmeſt hopes that the interval between the cloſe of the preſent Seſſion, and the beginning of the next, would afford ſufficient opportunity for forming a wiſe and well digeſted plan, for a liberal arrangement of commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, to be then brought forward‡." The Parliament was then prorogued.

The following is Mr. Plowden's picture of the State of the capital at this period:

"§ The difficulties of the Seſſion were greater from without than from within the walls of the Senate; it appears from the efforts of ſome of the members upon the armed aſſociations when the Seſſion was over, that attempts were made to carry the queſtion (of reform) loſt in Parliament, by a majority out of it. After the prorogation, the diſcontent and violence of the people rather encreaſed than diminiſhed: the populace frequently aſſembled and committed unjuſtifiable outrages; they attacked the houſes and perſons of ſhop-keepers, who were ſuſpected of not favouring the ‖ non-importation agreement; and in ¶ *ſome inſtances* they proceeded after the American faſhion, to the deſperate meaſure of tarring and feathering."

On

---

* Hiſt. Review, p. 85, ſecond volume.
† Ibid, p. 87.
‡ Ibid, p. 94.
§ Ibid, p. 95.
‖ The Iriſh Parliament having refuſed to enter into a war of *protecting duties* with England, non-importation, and non-conſumption agreements were entered into by the *Patriots* and their partizans.
¶ Almoſt every day ſome unfortunate *popular delinquent* underwent this cruel puniſhment; he was ſtripped to his ſkin, ſmeared over with hot

Digitized by Google

On the 7th June, 1784, the city of Dublin in a meeting convened by the Sheriff, took up the queſtion of Reform: "the principal objection to Mr. Flood's Bill (according to Mr. P.) having been, that it originated in an armed body, it was now thought expedient to attempt the meaſure in ſome way leſs exceptionable*."

Amongſt their reſolutions was the following: † "reſolved (with one diſſenting voice) that to extend the rights of ſuffrage to our Roman Catholic brethren, ſtill preſerving in its fulleſt extent the preſent Proteſtant government of this country, would be a meaſure fraught with the happieſt conſequences, and would be highly conducive to civil liberty." A ‡ moſt inflammatory addreſs was next voted to the people of Ireland, and laſtly§, "*a remonſtrance*" to his Majeſty, from the ſame enlightened body, which the Lord Lieutenant promiſed to tranſmit, at the ſame time declaring, "I ſhall not fail to convey my entire diſapprobation of it; as caſting unjuſt reflections upon the laws and Parliaments of Ireland, and tending to weaken the authority of both‖."

Soon after ¶ the cauſe of reform received a fatal blow from the diſunion which broke out among the volunteers of Ireland, upon the ſubject of admitting the Roman Catholics to the rights of ſuffrage. The late Lord Charlemont was decidedly againſt the meaſure of giving them the *elective franchiſe*; the tide of popular favour was immediately turned from this great and good character. Let no man ever expect to preſerve popularity in Ireland for any length of time, unleſs he has determined to go every deſperate length with the party he has once eſpouſed.

Another national convention was about this time ſummoned to meet in Dublin, and the high ſheriff was fined, &c. for his folly in convening it. (Hiſt. Rev. p. 106)

A Qualification Bill was next offered to Parliament, by the Patriots, and rejected, in January 1785. (Hiſt. Rev. p. 111.)

In the February following (Hiſt. Review, from p. 112 to p. 138.) the commercial propoſitions (which Mr. Foſter had alluded to in his amendment to the Addreſs, at the cloſe of the laſt Seſſion) were brought forward; ſcarcely any oppoſition was made to their introduction; but in a very ſhort time, the guardians of Iriſh independence took (or rather pretended to

---

hot pitch or tar, a bag of feathers was thrown upon him, and in this condition he was kicked home by the "aggregate bodies;" alias, the Mob of Dublin.

* Hiſt. Review, p. 96, ſecond volume.

† Ibid, 97. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid, 101.

‖ Ibid, 103. ¶ Ibid, 105.

take)

Digitized by Google

take) the alarm. It was ſagaciouſly diſcovered, that theſe propoſitions had been framed for the purpoſe of making Ireland*, "a tributary nation," accordingly "the gift was rejected and hurled back with ſcorn," "Ireland would never conſent to be a ſlave and pay tribute," &c. &c. Such were the arguments with which theſe propoſitions ſo beneficial to Ireland were reſiſted; and thus Ireland became more and more alienated from England, loſt her trade, and preſerved what ſhe conſidered her patriotiſm.

Their failure aroſe from the following circumſtances: when the queſtion of the propoſitions was debated in our Houſe of Commons, it was objected in the courſe of the debate, and with great reaſon, that as Ireland was an independent kingdom, there was no ſecurity for her adopting the regulations made by Great Britain to regulate her trade and navigation with her colonies and plantations; and therefore to obviate this objection an article was added to the propoſitions, that Ireland ſhould adopt the regulations of trade and navigation impoſed by our Parliament on the Engliſh nation: and that whenever Ireland refuſed to do ſo, the treaty of trade ſhould be at an end.

The Members of the Oppoſition in our houſe, who had hitherto oppoſed theſe propoſitions as being excluſively beneficial to Ireland, now thought proper to oppoſe them, upon another principle, viz. that they were an attack upon the independence of Ireland, and a covert attempt to reſume that legiſlative authority over Ireland, which in 1780, Great Britain had abandoned.

"I have been informed," ſaid the late Lord Clare†, "from authority which I cannot doubt, that this curioſity was ſtruck out by a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed ability, a native of this country, who had long been a member of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, and that when he ſtated it to the party with whom he acted, they reprobated the deception, as too groſs even for Iriſh dupery, he told them, 'I know my countrymen, and be aſſured they will ſwallow the bait.' The event has eſtabliſhed his ſagacity, and intimate knowledge of his countrymen: the Iriſh gudgeon did ſwallow the bait. Periſh the empire! live the conſtitution! was the theme of Iriſh dignity of that day: a ſpecies of ſurvivorſhip not altogether intelligible to a man of plain underſtanding: but the jargon was received with general and enthuſiaſtic admiration, as a ſublime effuſion of Iriſh eloquence, and unanſwerable proof of Britiſh duplicity. Will any man be found at this day to believe, that the forward characters in this Iriſh farce were duped by their Britiſh connexions?—No.—The ſolid intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland, were ſacrificed on the altar of faction‡."

---

* All theſe expreſſions were made uſe of in the Iriſh debates.

† Speech of Lord Clare, in February 1800, p. 50.

‡ Mr. P. has quoted *ſome* part of the Speech of Lord Clare on the Union; I am ſuppling what he has omitted of it.

The

Digitized by Google

The Iriſh Oppoſition, elated at their victory over the propoſitions, next brought forward their bill for limiting the Penſion Liſt, which was negatived*. The Police Bill, introduced by the Iriſh Government, became the next ſubject of popular grievance. The object of this bill was to ſecure the peace of the metropolis, by ſubſtituting, in the place of a very inefficient watch, an armed police; and it empowered the Government to appoint four Magiſtrates, at a ſmall ſalary per ann. It was however diſcovered, † "that this bill, under the ſpecious pretence of giving police, went to take away the conſtitution"!!

Nations, as well as individuals, are ſubject to temporary fits of madneſs. A *plethora* may, in both caſes, be ſometimes the cauſe. The unhappy individual fancies he ſees an enemy in every viſitor. The Iriſh nation in its inſanity at that period, beheld, in every meaſure propoſed by the Governments of either country, an attack upon its conſtitutional independence!

It is no wonder, whilſt this political tumult agitated the capital, that riots of another deſcription were going forward in the country.—Accordingly, we learn from Mr. Plowden's work, that during this period, 1787, "the Right-boys," under their ‡ leaders, (the Captains Right) were redreſſing, by nocturnal and diurnal inſurrection, the grievances of Munſter. We learn from this work, that the Oppoſition charged the Government with fomenting theſe diſturbances, (as if they had not buſineſs enough on their hands) and "that they had ſome dark deſign in ſuffering them to come to maturity;" a charge, Mr. P. admits, of ſuch intenſe malevolence, and of ſuch incalculable miſchief, ought not to be even imagined, without the ſtrongeſt preſumption and grounds §.

‖ Various repreſentations were made to the Houſe of Commons, of the cauſes and extent of theſe inſurrections; but thoſe members who wiſhed to preſerve their electioneering intereſt in thoſe counties treated them as of ſlight importance, and ſolely owing to the ſupineneſs of magiſtrates. One county member imputed them ¶ "to the effects of ſome whiſky,

---

* Hiſt. Review, p. 146, vol. ii.

† Ibid. p. 149.

‡ Every ſeparate party was commanded by a Captain *Right*, the aſſumed title of every leader of this Popiſh banditti.

§ Hiſt. Review, p. 151.

‖ Ibid. p. 153.

¶ Ibid. p. 150, note.

to

Digitized by Google

to which the country people had been treated, and which every gentleman knows operates on the lower orders of people, as oil of rodium does on rats." The borough-members, whose elections did not depend upon popular favour, and some of whom had been driven from their houses and fired at, gave a very different representation "of the violences of those *deluded* people." (Hist. Review) Their mode of proceeding was thus: and it bears no great traces of the effects either of *whisky* or *delusion*.

They assembled at a Catholic chapel, *and there* took the oath to obey Captain Right; those last sworn then went, on the ensuing Sunday, to the chapel adjoining, and swore those parishes next. The first object of their reformation was tithes; next, they swore the people not to give more than a certain price for rent of land; next, not to assist the Protestant clergyman with their carts to draw away his tithes: they also swore the people not to suffer tithe-proctors; and the unfortunate men of that employment who fell into their hands were treated with all the most ingenious devices of cruelty. They next proceeded to insist, that no new churches should be built, unless the old ones were given up for popish chapels; and, lastly, to prevent the collection of the hearth-money tax. Such was the Attorney-General's (afterwards Lord Clare) representation of this insurrection to a Committee of the whole House, on the 31st of January, 1787.

Unfortunately for the tranquillity of the south of Ireland, no Catholic Bishop exerted his influence among these "*deluded* people", with the same effect that Dr. Troy (then titular Bishop of Ossory) had, in 1784, against the White-boys. The government was therefore obliged to send the army to the South; and passed in Parliament, after great opposition from the *patriots*, (p. 157, vol. ii.) "the Bill to prevent tumultuous Meetings". This Bill empowered government to raise an armed police in a disturbed county, to be paid by the county; which measure was devised by the late Irish Chancellor; and I am informed, that those parts of Ireland in which this Bill has been carried into effect, by their comparative tranquillity with other counties, have proved the policy and wisdom of this measure.

During this state of political ferment in every part of Ireland, and of rebellion in the South, the subject of tithes (p. 164) was brought forward in the Irish House of Commons. Mr. Secretary Orde (p. 168) "insisted, that in the existing state of the country, it was impossible to hold out, in any degree, an expectation that the House would even enter upon the subject". This a popular orator pronounced to be "a veto

(p. 169)

Digitized by Google

(p. 169) which *ſealed up* the ſprings of humanity". "It was ſingular", ſays Mr. P. "that ſo many ſeſſions had paſſed over, without any motions concerning the body of the Roman Catholics" (p. 171).

Conſidering the conduct of the Catholic peaſantry of the South, I am not quite ſo much ſupriſed at this circumſtance as Mr. P. ſeems to be. At this period the Duke of Rutland died, a nobleman very much beloved in Ireland. (p. 178.) The Marquis of Buckingham ſucceeded him in January 1788. During his adminiſtration, the chief popular grievances were, the want of a limited penſion bill (p. 185), a reſponſibility bill, (p. 188), tithes (p. 197), and the hearth-money tax (p. 192). An attempt to inveſtigate the abuſes in the public offices made this nobleman very unpopular. The conſequences of this enquiry, according to Mr. P. were truly calamitous (p. 199). "*Many* defaulters fled the country, *others* cut their throats, a *few* ſtood the brunt of enquiry". Throughout every part of this work I diſcover, that the author of it poſſeſſes a large ſhare of that talent, which all writers have looked upon as the firſt ingredient of genius, namely, invention.

"In the courſe of the year 1788", he informs us, p. 200, "the county of Armagh was diſturbed, by the increaſed animoſities and outrages of the Peep-of-Day Boys and Defenders. The two ſets (I preſume he meant ſects) had been advancing in numbers, ſyſtem, and ferocity ſince the year 1785; they aroſe, *like many conſiderable and tumultuary ſets*, or denominations of men, from mere accident". It was mere accident, of courſe, that organized the White-Boys, Right-Boys, and United Iriſhmen! He then proceeds to give his reader an hiſtory of "the Defenders", which he has compiled in this manner: he has copied *verbatim* Sir Richard Muſgrave's account of their origin; and, in his own account of the courſe of their progreſs, he has ſelected from the Baronet's accurate Hiſtory, ſuch parts as ſuited his purpoſe; and has carefully omitted thoſe in which their real deſigns are unmaſked. I therefore refer my reader to Sir Richard Muſgrave's Hiſtory, third edition, vol. i. p. 61; where they will find an account of the murders and atrocities of this popiſh banditti, from the time of their organization, until they *merged* in the ſociety of United Iriſhmen.

For obvious reaſons, I ſhall paſs over the conduct of the Iriſh Parliament upon the Regency, (p. 203.) That momentous queſtion, which proved, on what a baſeleſs fabric the connexion between the two kingdoms was built. It was upon this memorable occaſion, that Mr. Fitz-Gibbon, "who was faithful found among the faithleſs," ſo much diſtinguiſhed

Digitized by Google

himſelf, and for his conduct he was ſoon after rewarded with a Peerage and the Seals of Ireland.

Upon His Majeſty's recovery, the Iriſh government was again embarraſſed by the oppoſition in Parliament; (Hiſt. Review, p. 254, vol. ii.) the Police Bill, (ibid.) the Penſion Bill, (ibid. p. 255.) Patentee Employments and (ibid. p. 270.) Tythes were brought forward, and every effort was made to render the Marquis of Buckingham's adminiſtration unpopular.

At this period, April 1789, a new political Society, * the Whig Club, was formed; clad in the ſame uniform as, and acting in concert with the Club of that denomination in our country. Mr. P. gives the following deſcription of it: (ibid. p. 271.)

"It was a rendezvouz, and a round of cabinet dinners for the members of the oppoſition; here were planned and arranged all the meaſures of attack upon the miniſtry; each member had his meaſure or his queſtion in turn, the plans of debate and manœuvre were preconcerted, and to each was aſſigned that ſhare of the attack he was moſt competent to maintain. This Club was aided by the aſſiſtance of ſome of the popular newſpapers, continued to announce its days of dining, to proclaim its ſentiments in the ſhape of reſolutions, or announce them obliquely in the ſhape of anonymous paragraphs. Their ſpeeches, generally *retailed* with point, virulence, and acrimony, always turned upon the prolific chapter of Government, and parliamentary abuſes, were calculated to work upon the paſſions, more than to guide the *the ſober reaſon of the multitude*:—Such, in truth, has generally been the ſyſtem of taking an ungenerous advantage of the Iriſh character"!!!

I have been obliged to give an epitome of, rather than a criticiſm upon, this part of Mr. Plowden's ſecond volume. He has, in his pages, recorded the events which took place; and, though he has given the ſpeeches of the opponents of government at length, and has abbreviated the replies; yet every intelligent reader (that has patience to wade through this part of his book) will eaſily diſtinguiſh eloquence from bombaſt, argument from declamation, and the voice of reaſon from the clamour of faction and party.

I have briefly noticed that epidemic popular frenzy, which hurried ſuch numbers, even of the loyal part of the Iriſh nation, to the brink of deſtruction. Fortunately, the conſequences

* Hiſt. Review, p. 271.—See the meaſures to which they pledged themſelves, in p. 290.

of

Digitized by Google

of the French Revolution, and particularly Mr. Burke's book, at length opened the eyes of the reflecting part of the Iriſh community to their folly, violence, and danger; and many then diſcovered, that their oppoſition to the government, their inflammatory ſpeeches to an inflammable people, with the innovating doctrines then afloat, would inevitably lead to the overthrow of the conſtitution, and the introduction of anarchy, and its conſequences. Many alſo became at laſt convinced, that they had been made dupes, and had been aſſiſting to play the game of Iriſh faction, and ſeparation from Great Britain.

I am now arrived at the year 1791.

" It may appear ſingular", remarks this writer, " that ſeveral years had now gone over, ſince Ireland had become independent in her legiſlature and free in her trade; that the great body of the Iriſh people, who were ſtill oppreſſed with a *grievous code* of penal ſtatutes, ſhould have attempted no public meaſure to be admitted to the enjoyment of that conſtitution, which their countrymen ſo triumphantly boaſted of having aſſerted and obtained".

(The conceſſions hitherto obtained were of no value in this gentleman's eſtimation.) " The voice of the nation had been loud and *unanimous* for univerſal toleration, and *indiſcriminate participation* of civil rights by every Iriſhman"; I preſume he meant to ſay *political rights*, the former having been already obtained: and when he inſiſts upon the unanimity of Iriſhmen on this point, he forgets that he had ſo lately acquainted his reader of the difference of opinion, which he had admitted to exiſt among the volunteers, and other public bodies in that kingdom, upon the policy of yielding to the Catholics the *elective franchiſe*.

* " Publications," he informs his reader, " were circulated upon the tendency of the Catholic religion;" I admit they were: and I *very well recollect*, that in moſt of them it was maintained, that its principles were † reconcileable to any form of government, to a Republic, as well as a Monarchy: can the converſe of this propoſition be now maintained, viz. that a Republic is equally ſuited to the Catholic religion? If I am to judge from France, where a biſhop's income is but 5000

* Hiſt. Review, p. 318. vol. ii.

† It is rather ſingular, that Catholic writers, lay as well as clerical, ſhould make this verſatility of their religion a boaſt, when Dean Swift, in his " Preſbyterian's Plea of Merit," objects it againſt their faith, as its reproach.

Digitized by Google

livres, not 250l. of our money, and a pariſh prieſt's 500 *livres*, or about 20l. Britiſh per ann. I am inclined to be of opinion, that a Republic is not much ſuited to the ſplendour of the Roman Catholic religion.

" Paſtoral inſtructions were publiſhed by Roman Catholic Biſhops through their dioceſes, and read in all chapels, to dehort their congregations from imbibing the pernicious doctrines ſo ſedulouſly attempted to be ſpread amongſt them, and to enforce ſubordination, peace, and loyalty in their conduct* :" with what ſucceſs, the outrages of the Defenders, then at their height, and the events of 1798, have ſufficiently manifeſted.

In a note to this part of his work, Mr. P. ſays,

" That in his caſe ſtated, (a pamphlet publiſhed by him in this year) he profeſſed an opinion, which *his* experience and obſervation have ſince confirmed, *that circumſtanced as the Iriſh are*, their ſtrict obſervance of the Catholic religion, is ſupereminently calculated to preſerve them from anarchy and confuſion, and keep them docile, quiet, and loyal."

Quære, to whom? for the active part taken by ſo many Catholic prieſts in 1797 and 1798, *in the Cabinet*, as well as in the field, the deſertions from the Catholic yeomanry and militia during the rebellion, &c. &c. &c. have proved, that it is not "*ſupereminently* calculated" to make *them* loyal to His Majeſty, or his Iriſh government.

Mr. P. ſoon after informs his reader, † " that the patriots who, almoſt to a man, were favourable to the *claims* of the Catholics, declined bringing them forward before Parliament, becauſe the very circumſtance of their being moved from the oppoſition bench would be a ſure ground of rejection: the Catholics could not but obſerve the indiſpoſition of government to conceſſion daily increaſe; and the day of remonſtrance and redreſs vaniſh behind the cloud of rigour and coercion, now aſſumed neceſſary to be exerciſed upon the people". I am really at a loſs to diſcover, to what meaſures of coercion and rigour this writer here alludes.

The Convention or Gunpowder Bills had not yet paſſed, nor was the Habeas Corpus Act ſuſpended, though the Defenders were in poſſeſſion of ſix counties, and a Catholic Parliament was ſummoned to meet in the capital; and as to the unanimity

---

* Hiſt. Review, p. 318.

† Ibid. p. 321.—He forgot that he had admitted the difference of opinion which exiſted among them, upon the policy of admitting the Catholics to the elective franchiſe.

of

Digitized by Google

of the patriots, did I chooſe to mention names, which I have all along, as much as poſſible, avoided, I could enumerate ſome of the moſt reſpectable, who, alarmed at the alliance, offenſive and defenſive, lately concluded, between the moſt violent of the Catholic body and the notorious Republicans of the country, became immediately hoſtile to their claims.

Did his readers require any additional proof, that as yet no rigour or coercion was reſorted to by the Iriſh Government, and that even the Roman Catholics themſelves were not unanimous in then bringing forward their claims, the proceedings of this *Catholic Committee* or Parliament (according to Mr. P.'s own account) are an anſwer to this unwarrantable aſſertion. This legiſlative aſſembly met upon the 11th of February, 1791*. The magiſtrates of Dublin wiſhed to diſperſe it, but the government would not permit them; and the † moſt reſpectable and loyal part of the Catholic body, with Lord Kenmare at their head, alarmed at the violence of this Committee, and diſguſted at the lead which certain democratic characters had taken in it, ſeceded, to the number of ſixty-four, from this meeting. Mr. Plowden aſſerts, that "the caſtle having intimated to thoſe gentlemen of the Catholic body, upon whom they had a more immediate influence, how offenſive to government this connection and union between the Catholics and *Diſſenters* were, hence aroſe that ſeceſſion from the Committee‡".

The Government of Ireland had no other influence upon Lord Kenmare and his party, but what their loyalty and good ſenſe gave it; and, at this period, no ſpecific political connection had *as yet* taken place between theſe ſects; the Report of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons informing us, that the firſt *official* communication between the Catholic Committee and the Diſſenters took place early in 1792. The truth is, that this Catholic Committee, having from its firſt formation made an alliance with every factious individual, avowed republican, city orator, and deſperate adventurer, the Lords Kenmare, Fingal, and their friends, who looked up to Parliament for relief §, ſeceded from this democratic

* Dr. Duigenan's Fair Repreſentation, p. 115.

† See Hiſt. Review, p. 324, where he admits the fact.

‡ Ibid.

§ And, becauſe they dared to addreſs the government, and to ſpeak the loyal ſentiments which they felt, this Committee, in deriſion, ſtyled

Digitized by Google

eratic convention, neither liking the company of which it was compoſed, nor the proceedings it adopted; and the ſubſequent fate of ſo many of thoſe demagogues has juſtified the conduct and ſuſpicions of theſe very reſpectable individuals.

Even after their receſſion, a ſecond ſchiſm took place; for this writer informs us (p. 325),

"that they (the Committee) appointed twelve gentlemen, to take, without delay, ſuch ſteps as they ſhould deem expedient for their relief: thoſe gentlemen accepted the truſt; but, after having repeatedly met, two of them differed in opinion, with regard to the propriety of coming forward at that particular period, and declined complying with the direction they had received."

Such was the *unanimity* among the Iriſh Catholics, upon the propriety of then coming forward with their *claims!* and ſuch is this writer's conſiſtency between the facts which he records, and the aſſertions he makes! His work next informs his reader, "that the ſummer paſſed over without any circumſtance of notability relative to the Catholic body". The loyal Proteſtants, who were hunted from their habitations by that Catholic banditti, the Defenders, would not, I fancy, perfectly agree with Mr. Plowden: I am, however, ſatisfied, that they will not entirely contradict his next conjecture, (p. 330) "that it appears highly probable, that meaſures were carrying *on in concert*, between the Proteſtants of the North, chiefly Diſſenters*, and the body of the Roman Catholics". *They* well remember, that in this year was founded the *celebrated* Society of United Iriſhmen, whoſe object was "to promote a brotherhood of affection (for the purpoſes of inſurrection and treaſon) amongſt Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion"; and into which were immediately aſſociated, Diſſenters and Catholics, Deiſts, Free-thinkers, No-thinkers, and other Proteſtants of this deſcription. Theobald Wolfe Tone, *then* agent to the Catholic Committee, was the father of this Society, and the compoſer of ſome of the *moſt admired* manifeſtoes that iſſued from both.

ſtyled them "the Addreſſers", an epithet which Mr. P. almoſt every where alſo gives them.

* Dr. Duigenan, in his Fair Repreſentation, ſtates, that the Diſſenters in Ireland are not one to eight to the Catholics. The Catholic Convention, which met in Dublin, in 1792, firſt broached the poſition, that Catholics exceeded Proteſtants in the proportion of three to one. Mr. P. makes the number of the Diſſenters in Ireland equal to that of the Proteſtants!!! Hiſt. Review, vol. ii. p. 372.

"The

Digitized by Google

"* The acts of this period", Mr. Plowden says, "are to be *retailed* as they took place, and not as they may now appear in the eyes of those, who consider every act or transaction as tainted with treason, because *some* of the actors in them were afterwards guilty of treason. *It is requisite* to show, that these first Societies of United Irishmen differed from those who afterwards entered into rebellion: here nothing was secret, nothing ambiguous, nothing inconsistent with the duty of a loyal subject."

Look at the † Prospectus of this Society. (Appendix, No. IV. Third Part.)

"Idem sentire, dicere, agere."

"It is proposed that, at this conjuncture, a Society shall be instituted in this city, having much of *the secrecy*, and somewhat of the ceremonial attached to freemasonry; with so much secrecy as may communicate curiosity, uncertainty, and expectation to the minds of surrounding men: with so much impressive and affecting ceremony in all its internal œconomy, as without impeding *real business*, may strike the soul through the senses, and addressing the *whole* man, may animate his philosophy by the energy of his passions. *Secrecy is expedient and necessary:* it will make the bond of union more cohesive, and the spirit of this union more ardent and condensed; it will envelope this dense flame with a cloud of gloomy ambiguity, that will not only facilitate its own agency, but will at the same time confound and terrify its enemies by their ignorance of the design, the extent, the direction, or the consequence. It will throw a veil over those individuals, whose professional prudence might make them wish to be concealed, until a manifestation of themselves became *absolutely necessary:* and, lastly, *secrecy* is necessary, because it is by no means certain, that a country so great a stranger to itself as Ireland, where the North and the South, and the East and the West, meet to wonder at each other, is yet prepared for the adoption of one political faith; while there may be individuals from each of these quarters ready to adopt such a profession, and to propagate it with their best abilities, *when* necessary, with their blood."

"Let its name be the Irish Brotherhood."

And that its two great objects, Revolution and Separation from England, were not concealed from its commencement, the following extracts will clearly prove:—

"Can the renovation in the Constitution, which we all deem necessary, be accomplished by the *ways* of the Constitution? The evil,

---

* Hist. Review, p. 330.

† I have given this celebrated prospectus in my Appendix, since *Mr. Plowden has omitted it in his*, as well as most of the *official papers* of the United Irishmen.

says

ſays Junius, lies too deep to be cured by any remedy leſs than ſome great convulſion, which may bring back the Conſtitution to its original principles, or utterly deſtroy it.—Is this opinion ſtill truer when applied to this Country, or is it falſe?"

"When the ariſtocracy come forward, the people fall backward. When the people come forward, the ariſtocracy, fearful of being left behind, inſinuate themſelves into our ranks, and riſe into timid leaders, or treacherous auxiliaries; *they* mean to make us their inſtruments: let *us* rather make them *our inſtruments*—one of the two muſt happen: the people muſt ſerve the purpoſes of party, or the party muſt emerge in the mightineſs of the people, and Hercules will then lean upon his club."

"On the 14th of July, the day which ſhall ever commemorate the French Revolution, let this Society pour out their firſt libation to European Liberty, eventually the liberty of the world; and with their hands joined in each other, and their eyes raiſed to Heaven, in his preſence who breathed into them an ever-living ſoul, let them ſwear to maintain the rights and prerogatives of Ireland as an INDEPENDENT KINGDOM.—Dieu et *mon* droit! is the motto of Kings.—Dieu et la liberty! exclaimed Voltair, when he firſt beheld Franklin, his fellow-citizen of the world.—Dieu et *nos* droits! let Iriſhmen cry aloud to each other, the cry of mercy, of juſtice, and of victory!"

The firſt article of their *Conſtitution*, was in theſe words:

"1ſt. This Society is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Iriſhmen of *every religious perſuaſion*; and thereby to obtain a *compleat* reform in the Legiſlature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty."

And the ſecond paragraph of their oath or teſt, was as follows:—

"I do further declare, (in the awful preſence of God) that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or puniſhments, ſhall ever induce me directly or indirectly, to inform on, or give evidence againſt any member or members of this or ſimilar Societies, for any act or expreſſion done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this Society, in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obligation."

I muſt confeſs, that I cannot diſcover much ambiguity in their Proſpectus, Reſolution, and Teſt; but if they do not unequivocally expreſs ſecrecy and diſloyalty, the words of the language we ſpeak have no meaning.

And in a letter written in 1791, by the founder of this infamous Society, and which was ſent to Belfaſt, with the Proſpectus, &c. were theſe expreſſions:

"My unalterable opinion is, that the bane of Iriſh proſperity is in the influence of England: I believe that influence will ever be extended, while the connexion between the countries continues; nevertheleſs as I know that opinion is *for the preſent* too hardy, though a very

Digitized by Google

very little time will eſtabliſh it univerſally, I have not made it a part of the reſolutions; I have only propoſed to ſet up a reformed Parliament as a barrier againſt that miſchief, which every honeſt man that will open his eyes muſt ſee in every inſtance overbears the intereſt of Ireland. I have not ſaid one word that looks like a wiſh for *ſeparation*, though I give it as my decided opinion, that ſuch an event would be a regeneration of this country."

And in another part are theſe remarkable words:

"With a reformed Parliament every thing is eaſy—without it nothing can be done."

And in another manifeſto iſſued by this ſociety early in 1792, they boaſt,

"that in this ſociety and its affiliated ſocieties, the Catholic and the Preſbyterian are at this inſtant holding out their hands and opening their hearts to each other, *agreeing in principles, concurring in practice.* Univerſal emancipation and repreſentative legiſlature is the polar principle which guides our ſociety, and ſhall guide it through all the tumult of factions and fluctuation of parties."

In another manifeſto they declare,

"In the ſincerity of our hearts do we deſire Catholic emancipation: but were it obtained to-morrow, to-morrow we would go on, as we do to-day, in the purſuit of that reform, which would ſtill be wanting to ratify their liberties, as well as our own."

And what ſort of a reform was their object, they very candidly ſtated in their manifeſto of 1793.

"Let us conjure you not to abuſe the preſent precious moment by a ſelf-extinguiſhment, by a credulous committal of your judgment and ſenſes to the direction of others, by an idle and idiot gaze on what may be going on in Parliament.—*The will of the nation ought to be declared*, before any reform ought to take place. Nothing leſs than the people can ſpeak for the people. This competency reſides not in a few freeholders ſhivering in the corner of a county court, but only in the whole community, repreſented in each county as at preſent in Antrim by parochial delegation, to provincial conventions, the union of which muſt form the awful will of the Iriſh people*."

Such were the principles and avowed objects of theſe ſocieties immediately formed after the proſpectus had been iſſued, in every town in that kingdom, and which ſocieties the Iriſh patriots in Parliament propoſed to conciliate and ſatisfy by *their*

* The original manifeſtoes or addreſſes from whence theſe extracts have been made, are to be found in the Report of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Parliament in 1798, in Appendix I. II. III. IV. V. VI.

plans

Digitized by Google

plans of reform and emancipation! Theſe manifeſtoes of the *Iriſh Union* were, as I am informed, moſtly the compoſitions of Theobold Wolfe Tone, then agent to the Catholic committee, and are ſigned by their ſecretaries, James Napper Tandy, and another gentleman, who having ſince heartily repented of his political errors, has in conſequence received the pardon of his Sovereign—had his wild ſchemes been realized, he would no doubt have long ſince fallen a victim to his own imprudence and the intrigues of the low ruffians of his party—ſo different is the gratitude of republicans from the clemency of a monarch!

The deſign of the leaders of this ſociety from its commencement was the eſtabliſhment of a republic in Ireland, independent of Great Britain. For the firſt three years their attention was engaged in bringing over to their ſocieties perſons of talents and activity in every part of that kingdom; and in order to prepare the public mind for their maturer plans, publications written with a view of degrading the Parliament and government in the eyes of the people were diſtributed *gratis* by this ſociety *:—Paine's "Rights of Man," and "Age of Reaſon," were diſſeminated with great induſtry; the latter, Sir R. Muſgrave informs us in his Hiſtory, the Iriſh prieſts forbad their flocks to read; to the former the majority of them had little objection. Emancipation was held out to the Catholic, and reform to the Preſbyterian; and having at length, as they imagined, ſufficiently prepared the public mind for bolder doctrines, in 1795 the teſt of this ſociety underwent a ſtriking alteration. The expreſſions in the teſt from henceforward were—"I will perſevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full and adequate repreſentation of all the people of Ireland †," omitting the words "in the Commons Houſe of Parliament," which had been ſubjoined in the original oath or teſt.

This is the only difference which I can trace between the original ſocieties and the latter ones, all of which were equally guilty of embruing their country in blood.

Mr. P. aſſures his reader, that "the firſt ſocieties of United Iriſhmen were compoſed entirely of Diſſenters and *Proteſtants*,

---

* See Report of the Secret Committee of Iriſh Parliament, 1798.

† Doctor M'Nevin, the Iriſh director, having been aſked by the late Iriſh Chancellor upon his examination the reaſon of this change in the teſt or oath, M'Nevin replied, "the omiſſion was made to reconcile reformers and republicans, and *becauſe they had given up all idea of reform, and were determined on republicaniſm.*"—Appendix No. xxxi. p. cclxxi. of Secret Committee of 1798.—The reader will obſerve, that this change in the teſt took place *three* years before the rebellion broke out.

and

Digitized by Google

and that into them Catholics were not admitted." Page 335. The contrary is notorious to every man in Ireland. The very object of this ſociety having been "to form a brotherhood of affection among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion." It is alſo notorious, that Catholic gentlemen were *original* members of the parent ſocieties of Belfaſt and Dublin; that numbers of the Catholic merchants and ſhopkeepers of both towns, and multitudes of the lower orders of that perſuaſion in thoſe cities became immediately members of the brotherhood, and that the whole body of the *Defenders* were at once admitted *ad eundem* into the inferior ſocieties of United Iriſhmen. Of the lower order of Iriſh Proteſtants very few were ever members of theſe ſocieties of murder and treaſon; and with all his induſtry, Mr. Plowden has been able to collect the names of but twenty-four, who were implicated in the rebellion, two of whom were *printers*, ſix in an humble rank of life, and ſome others of them Diſſenters. A very great number of the Iriſh Preſbyterians were no doubt United Iriſhmen; but few of them were guilty of actual rebellion in the field: luckily for the preſervation of their country, many before the 23d May 1798, had began to ſuſpect the deſigns of their Catholic allies, and did not come forward as was expected; and at length the maſſacres at Wexford and Vinegar-hill, but above all the *auto da fee* at Scullabogue opened their eyes, broke the unnatural alliance, and ſaved Ireland, and perhaps the Britiſh empire. By all the reports of all the ſecret committees of both Houſes of the Iriſh Parliament, the north of Ireland (where the Diſſenters are more numerous than in any other part of that kingdom) was the beſt armed, beſt organized, moſt formidable, and moſt diſaffected: yet two feeble efforts of rebellion were only made in that province, in Antrim and Down, in which counties the majority are Catholics. No other reaſon has been, or I believe ever can be aſſigned for the inaction of the north, except the * ſuſpicions which I have mentioned the Diſſenters to have entertained of the ultimate object of their *new* allies.

It

* The late Marquis of Downſhire ſtated in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, *as I have been informed*, "that at a meeting of the delegates of the ſocieties of U. Iriſhmen in the North in 1795, a propoſal was made to take off by aſſaſſination the Great Men of the North or Leading Ariſtocrats, as they were ſtiled. This propoſal was received with indignation by the Preſbyterian delegates, to whom his lordſhip ſaid he thought the great men owed, and to whom, as one concerned, he did not heſitate to acknowledge his obligation." This I believe was the

Digitized by Google

It were endleſs to follow this Hiſtorical Review through all the miſtatements which it gives of thoſe tranſactions in which the Catholics of Ireland took a leading part.

In a few pages farther, in Mr. Plowden's work, we have an account of the animoſities between the Defenders and Peep-of-day-boys, whom this writer calls the *Scots*, and he obſerves, "that it is not impoſſible that the refuſal of the Earl of Charlemont to countenance and abet the Peep-of-day-boys, became the immediate cauſe of a partner having been impoſed upon him in the government of that province:" to prove his ignorance, there are no governors of *provinces* in Ireland. Lord Charlemont was governor of the *county* of Armagh: and on account of his age and infirmities another nobleman was aſſociated with him to preſerve the peace, by putting an end to theſe mutual outrages; and in another part he gives his reader an account of an engagement between the Defenders, and the *Scots* and military: the former, after their defeat, he informs us, took refuge in the houſe of a Mr. Tucker.

* "The houſe was ſoon entered; innocent and guilty were dragged from their hiding places and butchered in cool blood, with circumſtances of barbarous cruelty. It is juſtice to ſay the military behaved with as much humanity as bravery."

If he means this as a ſneer upon the courage of an handful of troops, it is moſt unwarrantable; if he means to do juſtice to their humanity in taking priſoners and lodging in the jaol of Trim a party of inſurgents, who had oppoſed them in the field, and fired on them out of the windows, which is the true account of this tranſaction, his own account of it is utterly inconſiſtent; for if theſe men were butchered in cool blood, there could be neither humanity or gallantry in the troops who muſt have looked on, and permitted it.

---

the firſt great difference of opinion between the two religions of which the northern ſocieties of U. Iriſhmen were compoſed. The breach afterwards became wider and wider. I feel little apprehenſion of any future coalition among Preſbyterians and Catholics againſt the ſtate; the *former* are the natural allies of the Iriſh Proteſtants. The wiſh to extinguiſh parties in Ireland may be very philanthropic: how far it may be politic, I pretend not to judge; but cannot avoid thinking it (while the preſent generation laſts) juſt as practicable as the plan of Swift's projector for extracting ſun-beams from cucumbers, or the other noble project of building houſes downwards from the attic ſtory, to which perhaps it may bear ſome affinity: as all *foundations* muſt be levelled before ſuch an attempt could be ever ſucceſsful.

* Hiſt. Review, p. 386, 2d. vol.

And

Digitized by Google

And without any authority, he alſo charges the government of Ireland with abetting the Peep-of-day-boys inſurgents, who, he ſays, were "encouraged and headed by magiſtrates, clergymen and attornies"!

"Such aſſertions (Dr. Johnſon would have ſaid) * ought not to be anſwered, but puniſhed."

I follow this Hiſtorical Review in its account of the proceedings of the Catholics of Ireland.

† "The year 1792 (this writer informs us) opened ſcenes peculiarly intereſting to the fate of Ireland. Some years had paſſed without any parliamentry proceeding relative to the bulk of the nation, which never ceaſed to feel, and *latterly* to *expreſs*, their ſuffering under the exiſting code of penal ſtatutes affecting perſons profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion."

This gentleman and his party always ſpeak as if the Iriſh Catholics were ſtill in the ſituation in which they were during the reign of Queen Anne. I have already ſhewn that their further *claims* had not been hitherto brought forward, owing as much to the difference of opinion among themſelves, as to any reluctance on the part of their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects.

Mr. Plowden aſſures his reader,

"that the whole Catholic body, on *ſome ground or other*, was *now worked up* to an abſolute expectation of *relief:* the *addreſſers* ſuperadded to the equitable *grounds* of their claims, the ſubmiſſiveneſs and reſpect of their application, and their confidence in the humanity and generoſity of government. The *petitioners* relied more on the *irreſiſtible force* of truth and equity (he forgot to add numbers) than on the liberality or juſtice of government. Prudence however taught them that ſome attention was to be paid to appearances and prejudices."

To make this curious paragraph intelligible to my reader, I muſt inform him, that by the addreſſers, Mr. P. means the Lord Kenmare and his party, who had ſeceded from the committee, and who preſented a reſpectful addreſs to Parliament for further conceſſion: by the petitioners are meant the Catholic committee, and other bodies profeſſing to ſpeak the will of the majority, who drew up a petition (as they called it) to the Parliament, worded in ſuch a manner, that no member of that houſe was found hardy enough to preſent it.

And "the *ſome ground* or other which *worked* up the whole Catholic body," i. e. the democratic majority, I ſhall explain,

---

* Expreſſions made uſe of by Johnſon in one of his political tracts.

† Hiſt. Review, pp. 337 and 338.

ſince

Digitized by Google

ſince he does not.—The counties of * Meath, Weſtmeath, Louth, Longford, Cavan, &c. were then in the poſſeſſion of the Defenders, juſt then *merged* in the ſocieties of United Iriſhmen. This banditti hunted from his home every loyal man that refuſed to ſurrender his arms, murdered ſome of the moſt active magiſtrates, and thereby intimidated the reſt from doing their duty: "ſuperadded" to which, a Catholic Committee or Parliament was ſetting in the metropolis †, levying taxes throughout the kingdom, in which its mandates and circular letters were implicitly obeyed, whilſt the acts of the Parliament of Ireland were *dead letters* on their ſtatute-book.

This Catholic committee, which profeſſed to be the repreſentatives of their body in Ireland, at their ſeſſion on the 4th of February 1792, came to the following reſolutions:

"Reſolved, that we deem it neceſſary to declare, that the whole of our late applications, whether to his Majeſty's miniſters, to men in power, or ‡ to private members of the legiſlature, as well as our intended petition, neither did nor does contain any thing, or extend further either in ſubſtance or principle, than the four following objects.

"1ſt, Admiſſion to the profeſſion and practice of the law.

"2d, Capacity to ſerve in county magiſtracies.

"3d, A right to be ſummoned, and to ſerve on grand and petty juries.

"4th, A right of voting in counties only for Proteſtant Members of Parliament, in ſuch a manner however as that a Roman Catholic freeholder ſhould not vote, unleſs he either rented and cultivated a farm of twenty pounds per ann. in addition to his forty ſhillings freehold, or elſe poſſeſſed a freehold to the amount of twenty pounds per annum §."

‖ "The fourth of February (Mr. P. obſerves) was a day of importance to the Catholic cauſe;" for on that day Sir H.

---

* See the Report of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Parliament in 1793.

† See ibid.

‡ Through the ſon of a very eminent member of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons; both are ſince dead. This young gentleman received from the Catholic committee, according to their own accounts publiſhed, the ſum of 3201l. 10s. 5d. for his ſervices. Lord Clare's account of the whole of this tranſaction is, I believe, perfectly correct; though this writer in p. 342 is pleaſed to call it *falſe*, without any ſatisfactory proof of its being ſo.

§ Proceedings of the Catholic Committee, printed by their order.—Dublin, 1792.

‖ Hiſt. Review, p. 358.

Langriſhe,

Digitized by Google

Langriſhe, a ſupporter of government, and who held office under the crown, preſented to Parliament his bill for the further relief of his Majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects in Ireland. The object of this bill was to give them,

* "1ſt, the practice and profeſſion of the law.
"2d, To reſtore to them education, entire and unreſtrained.
"3d, To allow intermarriage between Catholics and Proteſtants.
"4th, To allow Catholic merchants and traders an unlimited number of apprentices."

Sir H. Langriſhe, in his ſpeech upon the introduction of this bill, made uſe of theſe expreſſions—

"He freely confeſſed that notwithſtanding his prepoſſeſſions in favour of the Roman Catholics, he was yet for ſome time checked in his ardour, and interrupted in the progreſs of his ſervices to them, by reading lately a multitude of publications and paragraphs in newſpapers and other prints circulated gratis, and communicated to every body with every degree of induſtry, *purporting to convey the ſentiments of the Catholic body of Ireland.* If theſe were their ſentiments, they were not ſuch as could recommend them to the further favour of the ſtate. They were ſuch as muſt alienate their old, and could not get them new friends, if they would chuſe their friends amongſt thoſe who were friends to the conſtitution. What was the import? They were exhortations to the people never to be ſatisfied at any conceſſion, until the ſtate itſelf was conceded: not only that, but until a new conſtitution ſhould be made for their preſent accommodation and future attainment. They were precautious againſt public tranquillity; they were invitations to diſorder, and covenants to diſcontent; they were oſtentations of ſtrength rather than ſolicitations for favours, rather appeals to the powers of the people, than applications to the authority of the ſtate; they involved the relief of the Catholics, with the revolution of the government, and were diſſertations for democracy, rather than arguments for toleration. They ſeemed the projects of ſome bold theoriſts whoſe principles were to divide man from man, and whoſe politics were to ſeparate Great Britain from Ireland; they ſeemed to be the effuſions of ſome † raſh philoſopher ignorant of our ſyſtem, who would let looſe and adrift the little planet we inhabit, and commit it to the vortex of a vain and exploded philoſophy, to range the univerſe without attraction, connexion, or relation to any greater or other body."

Mr. Cuffe (the preſent Lord Tyrawley) thought

"that gentlemen would do well to ſtate their opinion of the conduct

---

* P. 354.
† Sir H. Langriſhe gueſſed well; their agent, Theobald Wolfe Tone, has obtained the *credit* of having written moſt of them.

of

Digitized by Google

of the Catholics*, thoſe headed by a nobleman diſtinguiſhed for his liberality and extended property, who had ſigned the declaration alluded to by the Right Hon. Baronet, deſerved every kindneſs in the power of the legiſlature to beſtow; they were good citizens, loyal ſubjects, but there were Catholics who had conducted themſelves in a very different manner;—they had eſtabliſhed a court of delegates in the capital; they had appointed local committees in the ſeveral counties, had *entered into aſſociations with the diſcontented and turbulent of all religions*, and relying upon their power, they preſumed to dictate to the legiſlature what they would have—that ſyſtem ſeemed to have been adopted in order to terrify Parliament†."

‡ The Iriſh miniſter (the preſent Lord Hobart) ſeconded Sir H. Langriſhe's bill, but made no obſervations whatever upon it; and it was paſſed with hardly any oppoſition whatever.

This writer informs his reader§, "that the great body of the Catholics was little ſatisfied with the conceſſion contained in Sir H. Langriſhe's bill." It certainly did not quite come up to the *ultimatum* of the Catholic committee of the 4th of February 1792. But in truth ſome of the wiſeſt men in Ireland had then little doubt upon their minds, that no conceſſion except of the ſtate itſelf would *at that time* have entirely ſatisfied the *great body* of his Majeſty's diſcontented ſubjects of Ireland.

The claims of the Catholics having been taken up, as I have ſhewn, and brought forward by the Iriſh government, this queſtion of popular irritation was taken out of the hands of the Oppoſition. A deſperate attack was notwithſtanding made during ‖ this ſeſſion by one of the leaders of that now diminiſhed party in Parliament. A liſt of heterogeneous grievances was dinned into the ears of the members of the Iriſh Parliament, in a long and deſultory harangue. "The attempt to rob Ireland of her conſtitution by the commercial propoſitions," "monopoly againſt Iriſh trade," "the modelling of Parliament," "purchaſe of ſeats," "ſending one ſet of men packing into the Peers, and another ſet into the Commons

---

* The moſt ſcurrilous and abominable calumnies were propagated by thoſe violent men who then governed the Iriſh Catholics againſt Lords Kenmare, Fingal, and the reſpectable and loyal Catholic gentlemen who had ſeceded from the committee.

† Hiſt. Review, p. 355.

‡ Hiſt. Review, p. ibid.

§ Hiſt. Review, p. 361.

‖ Seſſion of 1792. See Iriſh Parliamentary Debates for that year.

Houſe,"

Digitized by Google

House,* &c. &c. were led through all the mazes of Irish eloquence. This oration was answered by the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Right Hon. Isaac Corry, an extract from whose reply even as it is given by Mr. Plowden, I cannot withhold from my reader, because it was the most satisfactory answer to the various charges, from time to time brought forward by the opposition to embarrass and discredit the Irish government.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer answered,

"that he was not surprised that the Right Hon. Gentleman, for want of other materials, should accumulate the invective matter of many sessions; he should be extremely surprised indeed if these topics so often refuted should make any impression upon the house. If the Right Hon. Gentleman supposed he should follow him through all that maze of charges, of propositions, of mint duties, of police, of India-trade, and all that strange incongruous jumble calculated to poison the public mind, he would request to be excused. They had already been refuted, and if they were brought forward in the course of the session, they would be refuted again. When the Right Hon. Gentleman imputed to the government crimes that would disgrace an individual, a government conscious of its integrity must disregard the imputation: but when he lightly charged Parliament, he lowered Parliament in the eyes of the public, and did a positive injury to the country. Since 1779, which he had fixed as the commencement of depravity, the Parliament of Ireland had done more for the benefit of the kingdom, than all the antecedent Parliaments since Henry the Second. In that space, the country had advanced to a degree of prosperity unhoped for even by the most sanguine: yet that was the very period the Right Hon. Gentleman thought fit to deprecate, by which he might do an evil that he certainly did not intend*."

I shall take no further notice in these Strictures of the measures afterwards brought forward by the Irish opposition, some of which, as the place bill, pension bill, and responsibility bill, were passed. I have always felt the obligations which Ireland owes to that opposition in Parliament. The errors of whose conduct, in my opinion, rendered indispensable a legislative Union between the two kingdoms. That great measure, to which (when the turbulent of the present generation have passed away and are forgotten) I have no doubt Ireland will be indebted for her future prosperity, happiness, and tranquillity.

I have only here to observe, that if any of my readers are so weak as to have imagined that, if the measures proposed by this opposition-party had been adopted, the leaders and drivers of

* Hist. Review, p. 365, 2d vol.

Digitized by Google

the Iriſh people would have been ſatisfied, let them read the following extract from Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone's letter to the people of Belfaſt, in which he freely gives his opinion of the Whig-Club, which Mr. Plowden informs us was the Cabinet Council of this Oppoſition.

"I have, you will ſee, alluded to the reſolutions of the Whig-Club, and I have differed with them *in degree only*; that is, I think, and am ſure, they do not go far enough: *they are not ſincere friends to the popular cauſe.* They dread the people as much as the caſtle does. It may be objected that an implied difference of ſentiment between them and the people will weaken both—*I think otherwiſe*—if they do not join you (the United Iriſhmen) in ſupporting a reform in Parliament, they do not deſerve ſupport themſelves. Apply the touchſtone: if they ſtand the teſt, well; if they fail, they are falſe and hollow, and the ſooner they are detected the better. *What ſignifies peddling with their ſuperficial meaſures?* they are *good ſo far as they go*; but for the *people* to ſpend their ſtrength in purſuit of ſuch, would be juſt as wiſe as for a man who has a mortification in his bowels to be very ſolicitous about a plaiſter for his ſore finger. To be candid, I dare ſay Lord ——, and I am pretty ſure Mr. ——, would heſitate much at the reſolutions which I ſend; but I only beg you will diſmiſs your reſpect for great names*."

As the conceſſions obtained by Sir H. Langriſhe's bill (for which the reſpectable part of the Roman Catholic body expreſſed their gratitude) did not, as appears from this work, ſatisfy the democratic party, the Catholic Committee continued its ſittings, iſſued its laws, and levied contributions upon thoſe of their perſuaſion throughout that kingdom: and this work before us gives evidence of the connexion between the United Iriſhmen and this committee.

"In fact (admits Mr. P.) ſeveral of their leading members took public occaſions of expreſſing that gratitude which the Catholics felt for the warm and liberal exertions of *thoſe ſocieties* in their favour. On the 23d of March, 1792, in a debate of the Committee, a *member* ſaid, that for a late publication (the digeſt of the Popery laws) the United Iriſhmen and their *reſpectable* chairman, Mr. ——, demanded their warmeſt gratitude;" (P. 379.)

and his excuſe is juſt as good as it is *well founded*; "*it was natural for men ſtaggering under oppreſſion to graſp every hand that held out relief.*" P. 380. But well aware of the fate of ſo many of their *united* friends, Mr. P. declares, p. 377,

* Report of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Parliament. Appendix II. p. xxxviii.

"it

" it would be unfair if the historian were to represent the transactions of a particular period, from consequences that appeared at a distant interval of time, and the subsequent fate of many of the actors in these scenes. It is his duty *faithfully* to represent them as they really passed at that time." (We have seen already how his preaching and practice agree.) " Merit and demerit (he beautifully observes) can only attach from previous or co existing circumstances, not from the *posthumous issue engendered in the womb of time by future base and † unavowed connexions."

That this " posthumous issue," or in plain English the horrid Irish rebellion of 1798, was the offspring of the leaders of the United Irishmen, and some members of this Catholic Committee, few men in Ireland of common candour at this day can be found to deny.

I am very much surprised at the pains this writer has taken, and the trouble that he has given himself and his readers to so little purpose, in order to prove, that no intercourse or connexion subsisted between the Roman Catholics and the United Irishmen, and the more so when in the same page in which he reiterates this assertion, so totally unfounded, he writes—

‡ " that as the great and indeed only ostensible principle of the different societies of United Irishmen was the affection and union of Irishmen of every religious denomination, the Catholics considered this general assemblage of the Protestants of the North (*alias*, the different societies of Presbyterian United Irishmen, Protestant and Presbyterian being throughout his work a convertible term) as a favourable opportunity of engaging them *more deeply* and zealously in *their* cause, they (the said Catholic committee) sent down *about a dozen discreet persons* (*alias* emissaries) to Belfast, in order to *keep up* and encourage the union with the *Protestants* of the North;" (to wit, the said United Irishmen.)

---

* Quere? why call it a " posthumous issue?" its father, Theo. W. Tone, did not cut his throat, nor were any of its godfathers hanged until long after its birth!

N. B. The Catholic Committee, by their own accounts, paid the chairman of this society of U. Irishmen 500l. " for his digest of the Popery laws and *other professional business*."

† We are all too apt to *cut* our friends when they meet with misfortunes! some of these connexions however were not so *base* as this writer chuses to stile them: many Catholics and Presbyterians, who were original U. Irishmen, being men of large mercantile property: and some of the Protestants in Mr. Plowden's list of 24 implicated in rebellion, were neither by birth or profession *base*.

‡ Hist. Review, p. 381.

Digitized by Google

And, in a few pages further, he moreover informs his reader that, beſides the Catholic committee then ſitting in the metropolis,

* "On the 31ſt of October the Catholic inhabitants of the city of Dublin were convened by public ſummons in the exhibition room in Exchequer-ſtreet."

This meeting was a *ſet-off* to a poſt-aſſembly of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Common-council of the city of Dublin, aſſembled to take into conſideration the ſeditious meetings then held, and the publications circulated by them; the Lord-Mayor and Common-council publiſhed reſolutions (a letter he calls it) condemning theſe meetings and proceedings. This Exchequer-ſtreet aſſembly was convened for the purpoſe of publiſhing "a declaration" in anſwer thereto; which declaration Mr. P. gives in his Appendix, No. XCIV, though for obvious reaſons, he was afraid to give the reſolutions of the poſt-aſſembly a place in his *valuable* collection of Iriſh manifeſtoes. But before this meeting of the Catholics of the city of Dublin parted, he informs us, that "their Chairman was ordered to tranſmit copies of that day's proceedings to the chairman of the town-meeting of Belfaſt, and the chairmen of the different Societies of United Iriſhmen, &c. &c."

In another page he ſays, "that a vindication of the conduct and principles of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, from the charges made againſt them by certain grand-juries, and intereſted bodies (that their conduct was inflammatory and ſeditious) was publiſhed by order of the Roman Catholic Committee." And to ſatisfy my reader that theſe grand-juries had ſome foundation for their charges, I ſhall give him an extract from this compoſition, as a ſpecimen of the nature of an Iriſh Catholic vindication, and of the moderation of the aforeſaid Catholic committee.

In this publication, after a recapitulation of all the grievances of which *they* ſtill complained, this vindication againſt the charge of inflaming the public mind, &c. &c. concludes in theſe words†.

"Such is the ſituation of three millions of good and faithful ſubjects in their native land‡, excluded from every truſt, power, and emolument

* Hiſt. Review, p. 383.

† Copied from his Review.

‡ Upon conſulting Watſon's Dublin Almanack for 1792, with an Iriſh friend at my elbow, he has pointed out to me the names of Catholic gentlemen

Digitized by Google

lument in the State, civil, or military, *excluded from all the benefits of the Conſtitution in all its parts;* excluded from all corporate rights and immunities, *expelled* from grand juries, *reſtrained* in petty juries! excluded from every direction, from every truſt, from every corporate ſociety, from every eſtabliſhment occaſional or fixed, inſtituted for public defence, public police, public morals, or public convenience, from the Bench, from the Bank, from the Exchange, from the Univerſity, from the College of Phyſicians,—from what are they not excluded?"

And this vindication (as they were pleaſed to call it) was publiſhed and diſſeminated ſoon after Sir H. Langriſhe's bill had paſſed, and after they had declared by their ultimatum, in February, that the *elective franchiſe* under certain modifications, and the right to be choſen as grand jurors, and county magiſtrates, was all that "either in ſubſtance or principle they aſpire to," their other demands, and ſome that they had omitted, having been juſt granted by Sir H. Langriſhe's bill!

Upon a review of the whole proceedings of the more violent and leading part of the Catholic body in Ireland, in this year, I cannot feel as much ſurpriſed as Mr. Plowden, that the Proteſtant party in Ireland (of whom theſe grand juries were compoſed) ſhould have viewed with alarm and ſuſpicion, the conduct of their Catholic fellow ſubjects.

But when he thinks proper to ſtate, that becauſe the late Lord Clare, Mr. Foſter, and other gentlemen, whom he ſtiles "monopolizers of political power," attended theſe grand juries, and ſubſcribed their reſolutions, (Hiſt. Review, p. 376, ſecond volume) "that it was, therefore, the general opinion, that all the grand-juries throughout the kingdom were *packed*, to extinguiſh even in embryo the Catholic's hopes of further emancipation," he has been impoſed upon by a calumny of the groſſeſt nature, which he has had the indiſcretion to inſert in his work.

I have looked over theſe different reſolutions, and find one of the ſtrongeſt came from the county of Roſcommon grand-jury, who after declaring their opinion, that the Catholic committee was "alarming, dangerous, and ſeditious," aſſert,

---

gentlemen who were in that year Directors of the Grand Canal and the Royal Canal; Members of the Dublin Society and Royal Iriſh Academy; Licentiates of the College of Phyſicians; as Merchants had acceſs to the exchange; were alſo attending Phyſicians of the public hoſpitals; were ſtudents in Trinity College through which courſe they paſſed, but took no degrees on account of the Oaths againſt tranſubſtantiation, &c. never offered to any ſtudent on admiſſion, but neceſſary for taking the degree of A. B.

"that

Digitized by Google

" that the plan called upon the whole body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, to aſſociate themſelves in the metropolis upon the model of the National Aſſembly of France, which had plunged that country into a ſtate of anarchy and tumult, unexampled in any civilized country,—and that it was an attempt to overawe Parliament."

All the different grand juries concurred in opinion, that this Catholic Committee, on account of its proceedings, was alarming and dangerous ; events have juſtified their ſagacity.

Their public acts proved the connexion between them and the ſocieties of U. Iriſhmen, the moſt reſpectable part of the Catholic body had ſeceded, of thoſe that remained in this aſſembly, many were probably kept ignorant of the true deſigns of the leaders, who directed all its proceedings : but it is now notorious, that its agent Tone was the founder of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, that its ſecretary is at this moment in exile for his treaſons, that many of its members were implicated in the rebellion, that ſome fled from juſtice, and others were ſtrongly ſuſpected ; and that one of its moſt leading adviſers, M'Nevin, was a member of the Rebel Iriſh Directory in 1797 ; and another, Lewins, Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the French Directory. It is alſo notorious that they gave their agent Tone £.1534 2s. 6d. for his trouble in compoſing thoſe Manifeſtoes with which they corrupted the public mind, that they paid the ſum of £.2113 1s. 4d. *to printers alone*, and that upon the attainment of their *ultimatum* in 1793, they voted * £.2000 for a ſtatute to his Majeſty, (which they never erected) and immediately after iſſued a mandate for levying further contributions upon their body, " for the heavy and growing expences of the Catholic cauſe."

Into ſuch inconſiſtencies does the defender of an indefenſible cauſe betray himſelf, his own admiſſions, as Dean Swift ſaid of a diſputant of the other ſex,

Againſt the ſide *he* would defend.
                    tend

Mr. Plowden next informs his reader " that the volunteers of the North at this period, 1792, entered warmly into the cauſe of Catholic *emancipation :*" unluckily for this gentle-

---

* I have copied this account of money expended by this committee from p. 394 of Mr. Plowden's work, where the application of ſuch money as they choſe to acknowledge the diſtribution of, is given.

man's

Digitized by Google

man's accuracy, no volunteers were then embodied in the North, (unleſs the pikemen who aſſembled to exerciſe by night, may be called volunteers.) An attempt indeed was made to reorganize them in the City of Dublin, under the denomination of "the firſt national battalion:" an uniform was fixed upon, green facings, green trowſers, and a button with a cap of liberty over the harp inſtead of a crown; they attempted to have a parade in Dublin, but on the appearance of a magiſtrate diſappeared. General Napper Tandy, upon the enſuing Sunday marched his demi-brigade, conſiſting of about forty men, to a village called Drumcondra near the city, to manœuvre, but upon the appearance of another magiſtrate with a few of the King's troops, the General retreated, (not with but) *from* his men, who were ſent about their buſineſs.

This Hiſtorical Review next ſtates, that upon the * diſſolution of the Catholic committee,

"a Catholic convention having been convened, aſſembled in Dublin at the cloſe of the year 1792, in Back-lane, and was thence in deriſion called the Back-lane Parliament, ſeveral of the leading members of the former committee, (now *merged* in this convention) had like others caught the general flame of liberty, and profeſſed themſelves as anxious for carrying the great *national* object of parliamentary reform *through all its branches* as they were for their own emancipation, and it was for a time doubted, whether they ſhould addreſs the Parliament as Roman Catholics or Iriſhmen! in the courſe of the ſummer a reconciliation or coalition had been *generally* effected between the Committee and *ſeveral* of the ſixty-four addreſſers."—"Convinced that his Majeſty's miniſters in England were diſpoſed to favour their pretenſions, (he informs us) that five delegates were choſen to preſent a petition to his Majeſty."

Theſe delegates thought proper, according to this work, "to go by ſhort ſeas," i.e. through the North of Ireland, not, I preſume, as being the ſhorteſt way, but to avoid the very long voyage from Dublin to Holyhead! We learn from Mr. P. that theſe delegates were received by the populace of Belfaſt, through which town they paſſed, with diſtinguiſhed honour, "they drew their carriages through the town," *and wiſhed them ſucceſs*, and he here

* In the circular letter from this Committee to the Catholics of Ireland, given in Appendix, No. XCIV. to the 3d volume of this Hiſtorical Review, the reader will find it ſtated by them, "that doubts were entertained of the *competency* of this Catholic Committee to diſſolve itſelf"!!!

adds,

Digitized by Google

adds, what our respect for the Baronet who was one of them, will hardly allow us to credit,

" that the Delegates returned these expressions of affection and sympathy by the most grateful acknowledgments, and assurances of their determination to maintain *that Union*, which formed the strength of Ireland;"

which expressions, *if* made use of to the populace of Belfast, then most of them members of that infamous Irish Brotherhood, could have had but one meaning in their ears. Surely these gentlemen could not all have made a declaration to this mob, of their connection with the Societies of United Irishmen! Thus it is that this indiscreet writer would confound the most respectable individuals of the Roman Catholic party in Ireland, with the most worthless; and thus anxious am I to rescue such as do not deserve condemnation, from the heavy charges that have been made against those, who took upon them that direction in their affairs, to which neither their birth, talents, or worth entitled them, and whose turbulence and faction alone forced them into notice or consequence.

The next piece of information which we receive from this work is, that,

" since Ireland had obtained a constitution, no year was so pregnant with great events as the year 1793. The Parliament met on the 10th of January, and the session which lasted till the 16th of August, was most interesting and important; it will be proper to prepare the reader for the effects of that session, by submitting to him the faithful and authentic account of the state of the nation, at the time of its opening; so alarming did the state of the nation appear to the Lords, that very early in the session, they appointed a Secret Committee to enquire into the causes of the disorder and disturbances which prevailed in several parts of the kingdom."

Mr. Plowden then gives the * Lord's Report of that year at full length: from which I shall give a few extracts, in corroboration of the arguments advanced by me in this part of my Strictures.

" In this " faithful † and authentic Report," (so he admits it to be,)

---

* I am at a loss to imagine why this whole Report was inserted in this work, it contradicts the positions attempted to be established by the writer. Was it inserted to shew, that the ultimatum of February, 1790, obtained in this year 1793, was obtained from Parliament *through fear?*

† For so Mr. P. admits it to be, though he does not treat the " Secret Reports" of the Irish Parliament with equal respect.

" from

Digitized by Google

"from the Lords, in 1793, (it is stated) that the Defenders (whose outrages were then such a cause of alarm to the State) were entirely composed of *Roman Catholics*, and were very different from those who had at first assumed that appellation; that they were *sworn to secrecy*, and *impressed* with a belief that they were assisting the *Catholic cause*. Their measures appear to have been *concerted and conducted* with the utmost *secrecy*, and with a degree of regularity and system, not usual in people of such mean condition, and as if *directed by men of superior rank*. Sums of money to a considerable amount *have been levied*, and *continue to be levied upon the Roman Catholics*, in all parts of the kingdom, by subscriptions and collections at *their chapels*, and elsewhere, some of which levies have been made under the authority of a *printed letter*, which has been sent into all parts of the kingdom," by the Catholic committee. Again, "It appears that letters were written by a member of this Catholic committee (their Secretary John Sweetman, now in exile) in Dublin previous to the last assizes, to a person resident in Dundalk, in one of which the said person, in *the name of* the said Roman Catholic committee, directed enquiries to be made touching the offences of which the said Defenders then in confinement were accused."

And the Report goes on:

"It does appear that the said person to whom the said letter was addressed at Dundalk, did employ at a considerable expence an agent and counsel to act for the several persons accused of being Defenders, and who had been indicted in consequence."

It then states, that very considerable quantities of gunpowder and arms had been sent from Dublin to Newry and Belfast, that large bodies of men were assembled and were drilled by night, that exertions had been made to procure military men of experience to act as officers, and attempts daily made to * seduce the King's troops; and the Report concludes in these words:

"The result of their enquiries is, that in their opinion it is incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity of this kingdom, to permit bodies of men in arms to assemble where they please, without any legal authority, and that the existence of a self-created representative body of any description of the King's subjects, taking upon itself the government of them, and levying taxes or subscriptions to be applied at the discretion of such representative body, or of persons deputed by them, is also incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity."

---

* So early as the year 1792, by the Report of the Secret Committee of the Irish Parliament in 1798, p. 11, "the seduction of the soldiery made a part of their system." This is corroborated by the Reports of the Courts Martial, held upon the soldiers at that period, which are given in Appendix 29, 30, to Report of Secret Committee,

I have

Digitized by Google

I have now, I truſt, ſufficiently proved to my readers, from the proſpectus of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, the letter of its founder, and the reſolutions tranſmitted with it to the North, and adopted by the inferior ſocieties, that they were all, from *their commencement*, ſimilar in their deſigns, proceedings, and ſecrecy to the parent ſocieties of Dublin and Belfaſt, from whence they branched out, and by which they were directed. I have ſhewn that, by their conſtitution, Catholics were admiſſible *ab origine:* and every Iriſh gentleman knows, that men of this religious perſuaſion were ſome of the earlieſt members thereof. From the proceedings of the Catholic committee and aſſembly, (as detailed by Mr. Plowden) I have ſhewn the connexion between them and theſe ſocieties; and, laſtly, from the Report of the Secret Committee of the Lords, in 1793, I have proved that this Catholic committee abetted the outrages of the Defenders, in as much as they did actually apply a part of that money which they had levied upon the body of the Roman Catholics, to defend this traitorous banditti againſt thoſe proſecutions, which the government of Ireland found it neceſſary to inſtitute for the ſafety and preſervation of the State.

I do not, for the reaſons already aſſigned, think it at all neceſſary to follow this work through its account of the various plans of a reform in Parliament, propoſed by the Iriſh oppoſition. The * plans of the United Iriſhmen led to abſolute democracy, which was their aim. Thoſe of the oppoſition in Par-

---

* The plans of reform by the Iriſh oppoſition are to be found in the publications of that day. That of the United Iriſhmen, in the report of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, in 1798. If any further argument be neceſſary to prove that the meaſures of the oppoſition would not have ſatisfied the Societies of U. Iriſhmen, read on. At a meeting of the Ulſter and Munſter delegates on the ſame day, 19th Feb. 1798, they both, the one at Belfaſt and the other in Dublin, came to a reſolution in the ſame words, "Reſolved, that we will give no attention whatever to any attempt made by either Houſe of Parliament, to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing ſhort of *complete emancipation of our country will ſatisfy us.*"

And in their official gazette of treaſon, "the Preſs," of the 17th February, 1798, in an addreſs to the people of Ireland are theſe words: "not three weeks ſince one of our maſters * declared, that *reform* "was the watch-word of treaſon," with the watch-word of treaſon then, they come forth, and affect to better your condition, truſt them not. Thus by their own rules they become traitors themſelves, and of all traitors thoſe are the worſt, who would cajole thoſe whom they cannot force, by duping them to their own deſigns." Theſe were publiſhed at the time that Lord Moira propoſed conciliation, &c. &c.

* The late Lord Clare.

liament,

Digitized by Google

liament, therefore could never have ſatisfied theſe ſocieties; and might have been productive of miſchief, not foreſeen by the propoſers. Their propoſal to Parliament, however, was productive of one evil, as ſome of the ſpeeches made in the Houſe of Commons upon this ſubject, degraded that aſſembly in the eyes of the people of Ireland.

I now follow this work to *that* meaſure, which it was ſanguinely expected would have given full content to the great body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland: namely, the attainment of *more than their ultimatum* of February, 1792. The Bill for the relief of his Majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects in Ireland, paſſed in this year 1793, was brought in by the Iriſh miniſter, (the preſent Lord Hobart) and ſupported with all the influence of government. Mr. Plowden informs his reader, that two members only oppoſed its introduction, Mr. Ogle, and Dr. Duigenan, "who in a very long and elaborate * ſpeech, collected together whatever the acrimonious bigotry of former days had ſuggeſted againſt the Catholics, and *retailed* it with new and enthuſiaſtic bitterneſs." As this writer well knew that he could *not venture* to give his reader even an epitome of Dr. Duigenan's powerful arguments, he thought the moſt *pru-*

---

* In this ſpeech made by Dr. D. in 1793, he profeſſed himſelf an advocate for a legiſlative union, he was the *only man* then in *that* houſe who did ſo, and he gave at the ſame time his reaſons for thinking that meaſure indiſpenſably neceſſary.—See his ſpeech.

When the bill came to the Houſe of Lords, the late Chancellor of Ireland delivered a ſpeech prophetic of the events which have ſince unfortunately happened. Mr. P. was, I ſuppoſe, afraid alſo to inſert *it* in his work, or his Appendix, he pretends to give its contents in half a page of his work, and attributes to Lord Clare theſe expreſſions: "he foreſaw in granting more than the preſent bill gave, a total ſeparation from England, or an Union with her—each to be equally dreaded." The expreſſions in Lord Clare's ſpeech which this writer has thus tortured, are, "If we are to perſiſt in encouraging faction and emulation at home, and in fomenting jealouſies and diſunion between this country and Great Britain, the exiſtence of Parliaments will inevitably become deſperate and impracticable: we ſhall be driven to ſue for an union with the Parliament of England, as *the laſt reſource for the preſervation of Ireland*; and the miſery is, that every ſtep which we advance in innovation, as it encreaſes the neceſſity of an Union, will encreaſe the difficulties in adjuſting it."—In common candour let this writer, *if he is able*, anſwer Lord Clare's arguments, but let him or his party not attribute to him aſſertions that he never made. See ſpeech of Lord Clare in 1793, p. 41; and in his ſpeech in 1800, he avowed "that for *ſeven* years paſt, he had ſtrongly recommended an Union."

dent

Digitized by Google

dent mode was to treat with disrespect a speech, every argument and assertion in which, the events that afterwards happened have justified and confirmed. Indeed, there is one mode of *argument* adopted by this party, which, as I have every reason to expect it will be made use of against myself, I must be excused for here noticing, it is this: when they find it impossible to deny facts, or refute deductions from them, they brand those who have the boldness to speak truth, and despise calumny, with the epithets of bigots, slanderers, and libellers,—and no doubt, as Dr. South observes, "the *Rabble-drivers* with this powerful senseless engine, shall be able to carry all before them."

The Bill of 1793, for the relief of the Catholics of Ireland, was passed.

It gave them the *elective franchise, unqualified.* The year before they had asked for it under certain restrictions, mentioned in their *ultimatum* of February, 1792.

It suffered them to be Grand-jurors, and Petty-jurors, on both of which they now serve.

It permitted them to carry arms, it permitted them to bear commissions in the navy and the army, both of which Catholic gentlemen now fill; it removed every restraint from property, every reasonable ground of complaint; it put the middling and lower classes upon a perfect equality with their Protestant fellow subjects, and it excluded the upper class alone (which in Ireland consists of few noblemen or gentlemen of large landed property) from the following offices and situations.

"Be it enacted, that nothing herein (33 of Geo. 3d.) contained, shall extend or be construed to extend, to enable any person to sit or vote in either House of Parliament, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy the office of Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom; Lord High Chancellor or Keeper or Commissioner of the Great Seal of this kingdom; Lord High Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the King's Bench or Common Pleas, or Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Justice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or Baron of the Exchequer, Judge of the Court of Admiralty, Master or Keeper of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Teller or Cashier of the Exchequer, or Auditor General, Lieutenant or Governor or Custos Rotulorum of Counties, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, Member of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, Prime Serjeant, Attorney General, Solicitor General, second and third Serjeant at Law, or King's Council, Masters in Chancery, Provost or Fellow of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, Post-Master General, Master and Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Ordnance, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces, Generals on the Staff, and Sheriffs and Sub-Sheriffs of any county, in this kingdom, or any office contrary to

Digitized by Google

ry the rules, orders, and directions made and eſtabliſhed by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, in purſuance of the Act paſſed in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of King Charles the Second, entitled, "*an Act for explaining ſome doubts ariſing upon an Act, entitled, an Act for the better execution of his Majeſty's gracious declaration for the ſettlement of his Kingdom of Ireland, and ſatisfaction of the ſeveral intereſts of adventurers, ſoldiers, and other his ſubjects there; and for making ſome alterations of and additions unto the ſaid Act, for the more ſpeedy and effectual ſettlement of that Kingdom,*" unleſs he ſhall have taken, made, and ſubſcribed the oaths and declarations, and performed the ſeveral requiſites which by any Law heretofore made and now of force are required, to enable any perſon to ſit or vote, or to hold, exerciſe, and enjoy the ſaid offices reſpectively."

Such were the only reſtrictions ſuffered to remain in 1793 (and which ſtill remain) upon the Roman Catholics of Ireland; they were *then* conceived abſolutely and indiſpenſably neceſſary for the preſervation of the Proteſtant government in Ireland, and the ſecurity of the charters of ſome corporations granted and confirmed in the reign of Charles II. Theſe reſtrictions only affect the higher and reſpectable claſs of the Iriſh Roman Catholics, but (as I have obſerved before) the middling and lower claſſes of Catholics in 1793, were put upon an equal footing with all his Majeſty's other ſubjects in Ireland.—What has followed?

Here let us pauſe———————————

I deem it not prudent to commit to paper all the reflections which at this moment ruſh into my mind.

Let me fly from them to the work before me; from it we learn, that Mr. Secretary Hobart, (Hiſt. Review, p. 408, ſecond volume) "alſo propoſed, that his Majeſty might be empowered and authorized to enable Roman Catholics, to endow a College and Univerſity, and Schools."

A large ſum of money was accordingly voted in 1795, a tract of land purchaſed, a yearly ſtipend granted by Parliament, and a ſplendid Royal Catholic College has riſen at Maynooth.

As I chuſe to hazard nothing in theſe Strictures, but upon the beſt authority, I ſhall give my readers an account of this College and of the conduct of ſome of its members, from Dr. Duigenan's, "Fair Repreſentation of the State of Ireland," in order to ſupply Mr. Plowden's omiſſion. This ſtatement by Dr. Duigenan, has never been refuted. He ſtates the object of the Iriſh government of that day to have been, to give the Roman Catholic clergy a ſeminary for the education of Prieſts at home, to prevent them ſending thoſe young men intended for their church, to foreign univerſities. He ſtates that £.40,000 were given out of the public purſe to the truſtees appointed to manage

Digitized by Google

manage this eſtabliſhment, and to receive donations for it, that £.8000 per annum had been regularly granted by the Iriſh government, for the ſupport of two hundred ſtudents. He moreover ſtates, that it afterwards appeared upon an enquiry made by the Iriſh Parliament of 1798, that *ſixty-nine* ſtudents only were maintained in this college; that it was currently reported, and very generally believed, that about *thirty-ſix* ſtudents from this monaſtery had upon the breaking out of the Rebellion in that year, joined the inſurgents, and fought at Kilcock and other places, againſt the King's troops. *Certain it is* that ſixteen or ſeventeen have been expelled from it on account of rebellion, but the Governors waited with *becoming prudence* till the Rebellion was ſuppreſſed, before they executed this act of wholeſome ſeverity; ſome ſtudents had been ſlain in action, and others fled to eſcape juſtice. Dr. Duigenan further ſtates, that the Preſident of this * College, was Dr. Huſſey, the titular Catholic Biſhop of Waterford, who publiſhed previous to the Rebellion of 1798, "a Paſtoral Letter" of treaſon and rebellion, in conſequence of which he was obliged to fly that kingdom, and, as I am informed, he died in exile.

To return to the conduct of the maſs of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

" † The paſſing of the Roman Catholic Bill, in this Seſſion, was (obſerves Mr. Plowden) a matter of the moſt ſerious importance to the political exiſtence of that kingdom. By this Act, the *preſent ſtate* of the Roman Catholics of Ireland *is ſettled* ‡, the vague term of Catholic emancipation was uſed before the paſſing of this act, *it has ſurvived it, every man appears to annex his own meaning to it*—"!!!

" It was undoubtedly a vaſt acceſſion of benefit to that body, whe-

---

* *As I have been informed*, the moſt diſaffected county at this day, (1804) in Ireland, is the county of Kildare, and the moſt diſaffected *ſpot* in the county of Kildare is the town of Maynooth, in which this Catholic College is built; and I have reaſon to think that my information is correct, becauſe of the fact, (which I believe nobody will preſume to deny) that the only attempt made by the Rebels of the 23d July, 1803, to ſtop any of the King's mails, was made under the walls of the Royal Catholic College of Maynooth; nor can it be denied that this town of Maynooth, was the *rende-vous* of a very large party of rebels on that night; and that in conſequence of information received, the Iriſh government in a very few days after, ſent a large party of his Majeſty's forces into the ſaid town, to diſarm its Catholic inhabitants!

† Hiſt. Review. p. 420, and the note.

‡ The meaning of the term was very well underſtood by the Iriſh loyaliſts, as well as the *motive for coining it.*

ther

Digitized by Google

ther it were to be called indulgence, conceſſion, or recognition of rights. Conſidering the long ſeries of oppreſſion and bondage, which they had groaned under, the happineſs of their delivery was in a peculiar manner owing to the parental tenderneſs of his Majeſty to his Iriſh Catholic ſubjects, whom he thus relieved, as it were, in defiance of the bigotry and cruelty of their own countrymen. This great act of national juſtice and policy, was wrung from the Iriſh Parliament, by the irreſiſtable power of Royal benevolence and liberality." (Hiſt Review, p. 421, ſecond volume.)

As he does not aſſert, that his Majeſty laid his poſitive commands upon every one of the three hundred members of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, and upon all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Viſcounts, and Barons of the Houſe of Lords, to ſupport this bill, (for even the Iriſh Chancellor, though he foretold ſome of the conſequences of it, did not divide the Houſe againſt it) this "Royal benevolence and liberality" muſt have been ſympathetic with the majority of both aſſemblies, who were independent of the Crown, or the Government.—Such is one ſpecimen among an hundred, of the manner in which this writer makes aſſertions, proves them, and reaſons upon them!

We are next informed, * "that the undertaking of the Government to bring forward ſeveral of the popular meaſures, and which were *actually* brought forward," (and he might have added paſſed, to wit, the Place, Penſion, and Reſponſibility Bills, and the Hearth-money tax taken off from the cottages of the peaſantry) theſe circumſtances "probably blunted the edge of the † oppoſition, which would otherwiſe have been offered againſt the paſſing ſome of the *ſtrong meaſures* of Government, the firſt of theſe was the Gun-powder Bill, the next the Convention Bill." The firſt he acknowledges ‡ "was not *at all* oppoſed in Parliament."—He next adds, "the Gunpowder Bill was deſigned to defeat a conſpiracy, which was ſuppoſed, and reported to have been then on foot, though the truth of it *were never proved*, nor credited by many"!!! "It is indeed doubtful (as muſt generally be the effects of every preventative meaſure) whether the conſpiracy muſt not have failed, *had it exiſted*, unleſs the French had at that time ſucceeded in Holland, their failure rendered this cautionary meaſure actually *inoperative*" !!!

* Hiſt. Review, p. 427.

† Which oppoſition party in Parliament then conſiſted of about *twenty-ſeven!*

‡ Hiſt. Review, pp. 427, 428, 429.

"The

Digitized by Google

"The Convention Bill was to prevent the prevalence of the ſucceſsful example of the Catholic Convention." (ibid)—Only twenty-ſeven members of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons oppoſed this Bill.

My reader will here obſerve, that theſe very *coercive meaſures*, viz. to prevent the importation of gun-powder, except by perſons licenſed by Government, and to diſſolve ſelf-created conventions, were the firſt ſtrong meaſures adopted by the Iriſh Government, and which were not adopted, until after the claims of the Catholics had been conceded, &c. &c. And when he is informed, in addition to the facts I have already ſtated, that a Catholic Convention continued to ſit in Dublin, and to levy taxes "for the heavy and growing expences of the Catholic cauſe," and that a *National* Convention was ſummoned to meet, in September, at Athlone, I am inclined to think, he will agree with me, that it was full time for the Iriſh Government to take ſome precautions againſt that ſtorm, which was ready to burſt upon their heads.

Theſe bills undoubtedly prevented the United Iriſhmen from ſupplying themſelves with more gun-powder, excepting clandeſtinely*, diſſolved the Catholic Convention in Dublin, and prevented the *National Convention* from aſſembling at Athlone: and as they paralized the machinations of treaſon, they have been repreſented as the chief of thoſe *coercive and ſtrong* meaſures which *goaded* that people into rebellion! Unluckily, however, for the advocates of conciliation, lenient meaſures, romance, and ſentiment, Mr. S. Nelſon, a leading United Iriſhman, upon his examination before the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords, in Auguſt 1798, confeſſed, "that the Convention Bill was calculated to meet every part of the ſyſtem of the United Iriſhmen, that Ulſter was not latterly as well organized as it had been, that their affairs had been latterly much miſconducted, becauſe the ableſt men among them had been arreſted or obliged to fly."

I am of opinion, with all deference, that if ever a ſyſtem of conceſſion was tried in any country, it was fairly tried in Ireland. Since 1782, meaſure after mea-

* Before this Convention cloſed their Seſſion, they elected nine of their Members to compoſe a permanent Council; this they ſtiled the Permanent Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.—Of theſe, Dr. M'Nevin, afterwards one of the Ambaſſadors to the French, and Member of the Iriſh Directory, was the chief.—See p. 115, Dr. Duigenan's Fair Repreſentation.

ſure

Digitized by Google

ſure was conceded, and conceſſion produced claim; becauſe, perhaps, claim obtained conceſſion. The Government of Ireland at length refuſed to concede the ſtate; and they were accuſed of provoking the people of that country to rebellion! But when the Government of Ireland at length determined to make a ſtand, their firmneſs rallied round them the true friends of the Conſtitution; their conceſſions, ſo far from attaching new friends, had detached many of their old ones; for the ſame Mr. Samuel Nelſon declared, in his examination before the Secret Committee, "that many people joined the United Iriſhmen, ſuppoſing them to have been the ſtrongeſt party in the ſtate."

Mr. Plowden affects to treat with great contempt the *alarms* of the Iriſh Government, at the cloſe of the year 1792; and at the beginning of 1793,

"A general inſurrection was apprehended; *they pretended* to have information of the particular nights fixed upon for that purpoſe. It was *given out* from the Caſtle, that the Cuſtom-houſe, the Poſt-office, and the Gaol, were to be firſt attacked, &c. The Magiſtrates, with bodies of horſe, patroled the ſtreets, and many other *falſe rumours*, of conſpiracies and aſſaſſinations, were ſet afloat."

When I inform my readers, that about this time the dome of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons was ſuddenly enveloped in flames, and that fifteen minutes after the members had eſcaped it fell in; that an immenſe multitude were aſſembled round the houſe, many of whom openly expreſſed their regret at the fortunate eſcape of the members of the Parliament; when I alſo inform them, that Mr. Penroſe, the architect of the Houſe of Commons, gave it decidedly as his opinion, that from the conſtruction of the flues, which were of iron, it was impoſſible that one of them could have ſet fire to the dome; and that he heſitated not to affirm, that it was done by deliberate deſign, and muſt have been the effect of ſome chemical proceſs: when I inform them alſo, that a magiſtrate, Alderman James, found, in March following, a depot of pikes in Suffolk-ſtreet, near the Parliament Houſe: and when I alſo inform them, that a few days before this conflagration of the Houſe of Commons, an hand-bill, to the following purport, was circulated in Dublin, and paſted under the proclamations for the apprehenſion of James Napper Tandy, affixed to the walls of the Houſe of Lords:—* "The members of a certain

* I requeſt of my readers to turn to pp. 135, 142, third edition of Sir Richard Muſgrave's Hiſtory of the different Rebellions

Digitized by Google

tain great houſe, not far from the College, are hereby cautioned, how they proſecute to ruin a *virtuous citizen*, for defending his character, and aſſerting the liberties of Ireland; if they do not, *let them beware of the awl of the Cobler of Meſſina.*"—When they alſo recollect, the ſecrecy of all Iriſh conſpiracies; and call to mind in how ſudden and ſecret a manner a body of *pikemen* ſtarted on the 23d July, 1803, like the armed ſoldiers of Cadmus out of the earth;—I have little doubt that moſt of my readers will agree with me, that none but the very incredulous, or the very diſaffected, will doubt the exiſtence of ſecret Iriſh conſpiracies; and will think my Lord Weſtmoreland, and the Iriſh Government, perfectly juſtifiable in the precautionary meaſures, which they took upon that occaſion.

In this year 1793, GreatBritain declared war with the French Republic. The operation of the Gun-powder and Convention Bills; the horror entertained throughout Europe at the murder of the King of France, and our firſt ſucceſſes on the Continent, for a ſhort time checked the progreſs of the Societies of United Iriſhmen. The ſubſequent victories of the French armies, the diſaſters of Great Britain, and the growth of democratic principles in every part of the empire, gave new encouragement to that very numerous party in Ireland, who were enemies to Britiſh connexion, to continue with great ſecrecy, and unabating activity, the purſuit of their plans. The events which have followed, are ſo well known, that it is unneceſſary for me to notice minutely that accumulation of error and miſinformation with which the reſt of Mr. Plowden's "Hiſtorical Review" is crowded.

The Society of United Iriſhmen having, with the democratic Catholic party in Ireland, formed a plan for the ſeparation of theſe kingdoms; having by their joint publications corrupted the public mind; having ſeduced into their Societies moſt of the middling and lower orders of Roman Catholics, and a very large proportion of the Preſbyterians of the North of Ireland; having, in 1795, according to Doctor M'Nevin's evidence, held communications with the French Directory; having, in 1796, completed a military organization in Ulſter, and in May 1797, drawn up a plan for a general inſurrection, which was given up in conſequence of the Government hav-

---

in Ireland; where they will find very ſtrong preſumptive evidence that this fire was not accidental, as alſo the reaſon why all enquiry into this affair was *ſtifled*.

ing,

Digitized by Google

ing, in ſome meaſure, diſarmed the North*; having afterwards, at various times, negotiated for foreign aſſiſtance; having, by their previous aſſaſſinations, deſtroyed every principle of morality and humanity; and having at length been forced, by the † vigorous meaſures of the Iriſh Government, into a premature inſurrection, during the progreſs of which they perpetrated the moſt dreadful enormities; and, finally, having been defeated in their wicked attempt, they yet find advocates to come forward and charge the Government, the King's army, and the Proteſtant gentry of Ireland, with the guilt of provoking an horrible rebellion. Defeated in the field, in which they never fought with determined courage, unleſs when headed by Catholic prieſts; and intoxicated with ſpirits, they revenge themſelves, for their failure, by charging thoſe good and loyal ſubjects, who preſerved their country from fanaticiſm and ruin, with the moſt horrible deſigns, and the moſt cruel practices. The army that campaigned in Ireland, compoſed of Engliſh, Scots, Iriſh, and Welſh, has been accuſed of barbarities, which no troops that I have ever heard or read of, except a French Republican army was capable. The Proteſtant gentry of Ireland have been repreſented as a *pack* of Cuba blood-hounds. The Orangemen, that loyal body, ſo maligned and ſo meritorious, have been charged, and are charged by this writer, of having taken oaths of extermination; and, laſtly, there are men to be found, (this writer among the number) who inſiſt that this was not a Catholic rebellion, though the whole united army of Leinſter (with the exception of two or three commanders) were Catholics; though wretched Proteſtants, men, women, and children, were proſcribed and hunted, like wild beaſts, except when Catholic prieſts gave them protections, or baptized them anew after the rites of their church. And though the Northern Preſbyterians deſerted their allies, yet becauſe about *twenty four* Proteſtants, Preſbyterians, and Deiſts, were deeply implicated

* See Paſſim. Report of Secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons of 1798.

† "I believe the inſurrection which has taken place was brought forward by the military ſeverities which were exerciſed in the county of Kildare, and that if the arreſts had not taken place, it would have been kept back by the perſons who were arreſted, till the French ſhould arrive, as it was their determination to wait for aſſiſtance from France. If the French had arrived, I am certain there would have been a very general and formidable inſurrection in every part of the country."

Evidence of Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet, before the Secret Committee of the Lords, Appendix, No. XXXI. p. cclxxxiv.

Digitized by Google

in, and some of them directors of this unprovoked insurrection; there are forsooth men to be found, who deny that this was a * Catholic rebellion. " In revolutions and public convulsions, (it has been remarked) one man writes what he pleases, and an hundred thousand fools believe him."

I shall here briefly notice those transactions not yet anticipated, which took place in Ireland, from 1793 to 1798.

In p. 446. vol. ii. this writer asserts,

" That at the close of 1793, a certain party, which soon after this, shewed itself openly under the denomination of *Orangemen*, was prominently active in renovating and extending the flame of religious feuds, discord, and animosity."

This is notoriously unfounded in fact, the Orange Society not having been formed till September 1795; in another part his reader is told, " that the Orangemen grew out of the Peep-of-day boys, which is equally unfounded, the Peep-of-day boys being Presbyterians, or *Scots*, as he has called them; and the first Orangemen, *exclusively* Protestants, two sects, which this writer chuses to consider as one.

" Towards the end of 1794†, (Mr. P. informs us,) that the turbulent state of that country had so alarmed the Government, that the British Minister had found it necessary to remove the Earl of West-

---

* In the Memoire presented in June, 1797, by Doctor M'Nevin to the French minister at Hamburg, is the following paragraph: " that the counties of Louth, Armagh, Westmeath, Kildare, King's County and City of Dublin, were the best organized, and that the Catholic priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were *all* affected to the cause. That some of them had rendered great service in propagating with *discrete zeal* the system of the *Union*."

Report of Secret Committee of Irish Parliament in 1798, Appendix, XXXI. p. cclxxv.

And in the examinations of Mr. John Hughes of Belfast, Bookseller, given on oath before General Lucius Barber, and to be found at length in the Report of Secret Committee of 1798, Appendix XV. p. cxxvi. he states, that he came to Dublin on a mission, in November 1796, from the Society of United Irishmen at Belfast to Dublin, to Lewins, (afterwards the agent in France) and " that whilst he remained in Dublin he dined frequently with Lewins; the company at his table were generally clergymen, and some of them foreigners, he thinks it likely they were priests. He returned to Belfast in December, 1796.

† In 1793, an Act was passed granting Ireland a participation of the monopoly of the East-India trade, for 21 years. See Irish Statute 33 Geo. III. chap. 31.

moreland,

Digitized by Google

moreland, who had either brought on, or permitted the kingdom to be brought to that deplorable condition."

I need not, I conceive, take the trouble of reſcuing my Lord Weſtmoreland from ſuch a charge; I ſhall only requeſt of my readers to recollect, that under his adminiſtration, the Iriſh Catholics obtained more than under all the antecedent Governments, ſince the reign of Queen Anne. I have little doubt that his Lordſhip will not be much ſurpriſed at this attack made upon him; having, no doubt, long ſince formed his opinion of the nature and extent of Catholic political gratitude. Lord Fitzwilliam ſucceeded him. As I never was in the confidence of the miniſtry, I pretend not to know the cauſe of Lord Fitzwilliam's appointment, or of his removal. And as Mr. Plowden does not aſſert that he was or is in the confidence of any of the parties, though he has gone into a very long detail of the *true cauſe* of Lord Fitzwilliam's recal, I am ready to allow, that this part of his work gives his readers all the information upon that ſubject, that the *public* in both countries was already in poſſeſſion of.

Mr. P. thus deſcribes the conduct of the Iriſh Catholics at this time:

"It was a fact publicly known to all, and complained of by ſome, that large as the conceſſions had been to the Catholics in the *preceding Seſſion*, their gratitude for them appeared leſs prominent in their different Reſolutions and Addreſſes, than their *confidence* and expectation of their further extenſion"—

(To wit, the privilege of ſitting in Parliament, and being Sheriffs, and a capability (*when vacancies happened*) of filling the great offices of ſtate, all that was left for Lord Fitzwilliam to grant, and all that now remains to be obtained)—

"It was obſerved, (adds Mr. P.) that the firmly cheriſhed hope of a total deliverance from all diſqualification, was ſo predominent among them, that the former graces had met with a *cold reception*"!!!

The recal of Lord Fitzwilliam, therefore, as it was *beautifully* ſaid by an Iriſh Patriot, "daſhed the cup of expectation from the lips of all the Catholics of Ireland"—who were ready, I ſuppoſe to a man, to drink "ſucceſs to his Lordſhip," for paſſing their *emancipation;* to which Mr. P. has already informed us, "every man annexed his own idea"!—from which aſſertion, (which I believe has a great deal of truth in it) as well as from *my information* of what was then going forward in Ireland, I moſt humbly give it as my opinion, that his Lordſhip's

Digitized by Google

ſhip's recal, though it made the Iriſh Oppoſition very angry, neither accelerated nor retarded the rebellion, which before his Lordſhip's arrival in that country was predetermined upon, by a ſet of men, who were not to be diverted from their object, by the meaſures of any Oppoſition in Parliament, who would inevitably have loſt the *little credit* they had with them, the moment they became the adminiſtration of the country. In removing Lord Fitzwilliam from the Government of Ireland, his Majeſty exerciſed one of his undoubted prerogatives; and becauſe neither he, or his Miniſters for him, have given his reaſons to his inquiſitive ſubjects, they have been accuſed of breaking their faith (never pledged) with the Iriſh nation, *i. e.* with the part of it that regretted, or pretended to regret the appointment of Lord Camden to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, from whoſe appointment this work ſtates, "*commenced* a government of rigour and coercion." P. 495.

A party-writer ought to have a very good memory.—Mr. Plowden ſeems to have forgotten that he had already given "the ſingular and important credit" to Lord Weſtmoreland's adminiſtration, of originating that ſyſtem "of rigour and coercion, now deemed neceſſary to govern the Iriſh people," by paſſing thoſe very *ſtrong meaſures*, the Gun-powder and Convention Bills, "to defeat a conſpiracy which was *never proved to exiſt*, and was not credited by many."

The firſt ſtrong meaſure of Lord Camden's Government, was the rejection in the Iriſh Parliament, by a majority * of 155 againſt 84, of Catholic emancipation, (to wit, the privilege of ſitting in Parliament, and filling the great offices of ſtate) an intolerable diſappointment to the middling and lower orders of that perſuaſion; a grievance of ſo heavy a nature, that it afterwards forced them, and many of their prieſts, into rebellion. In the debate, which took place upon this occaſion in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. A. O'Connor, then a Member, and ſoon after a Director of the *Iriſh Union*, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, † "by one of the moſt brilliant ſpeeches *ever* made in the Iriſh Parliament."

* Hiſt. Review, p. 523.

† Hiſt. Review, p. 521. Not very long after he was tried at Maidſtone for high treaſon. See his trial by Guerney.

The

Digitized by Google

The next ſtrong meaſure of Lord Camden's adminiſtration was, "the benevolent relief of the poor from the tax of hearth-money."—The next, "the foundation of a Catholic College for the education of the Catholic Clergy." And the laſt *ſtrong and coercive* meaſure of this Seſſion was, "the ſatisfactory arrangement of iſſuing money from the Treaſury," p. 528.

On the 5th of June 1795, the Seſſion in which *theſe ſtrong and coercive meaſures* were carried, was prorogued. In three pages farther he tells us, that "the ſpirit of defenderiſm (he means of the United Iriſhmen, the Defenders being long ſince merged in this body, and their *name even extinct*) encreaſed and ſpread very widely, in this year, throughout the kingdom. To them were attributed the outrages committed upon ſome of the firſt officers of ſtate," viz. the late Iriſh Chancellor, (who narrowly eſcaped aſſaſſination) and the Beresford family: Lord Clare, however, as he was *ſomewhat* concerned, muſt, I ſuppoſe, have been *ſomewhat* informed upon this ſubject; he has ſtated, in his Speech of the 19th February, 1798,

"that the people had been told from high popular authority, that they ſhould by no means forego the opportunity of the war in urging their claims; that they ſhould inſtantly embrace, and greatly emancipate; that they *muſt extinguiſh* all members of the community who are ſtartled at this magnificent project, or they will *be extinguiſhed* by them; I might perhaps (added Lord Clare) be excuſed for ſpeaking with ſome degree of warmth upon this ſubject, as I was within an hair's breadth of being extinguiſhed, immediately after this ſublime leſſon of great emancipation and general extinguiſhment was promulgated."

The next very ſtrong and coercive meaſure of my Lord Camden's government was a proclamation*, offering a reward of £.500 for the apprehenſion of any of the perſons concerned in this attempt upon the life of Lord Clare; and commanding the magiſtrates to keep the peace. It was early in this year, 1795, that the United Iriſhman's oath or teſt underwent the ſtriking alteration which I have already mentioned.

"In this year", he ſays, "the name of the *Peep-of-day* Boys was changed into that of *Orange-men*: at firſt no perſon of conſequence was admitted in it. The firſt lodge was formed on the 21ſt of September, 1795. Like United Iriſhmen, they were ſoon affiliated, and

* See it at full length in p. 531 of Hiſt. Review, ſecond volume.

their

Digitized by Google

their teſt", he ſays, was " in the awful preſence of Almighty God, I ſwear that I will, to the utmoſt of my power, ſupport the King and the preſent Government, and I do further ſwear, that I will uſe my utmoſt exertion *to exterminate all the Catholics of Ireland*" ! ! (Appendix, No. V. Third Part.)

A more unjuſt, malicious, or unfounded calumny never was invented; nor can I ſufficiently expreſs my indignation and aſtoniſhment, that an Engliſh barriſter ſhould have ſo far ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon by his informers, as thus to give, as a part of the oath of the Orange Societies, a falſehood invented by the Iriſh rebels to inflame the minds of the lower orders of Catholics; and that he ſhould alſo impute to the orangemen a connection with a banditti that had been ſuppreſſed before their inſtitution. The pretended oath is evidently ſuch as no Proteſtant in Ireland could have been induced to take; it being very far from a tenet of *their* faith, that they ought to *exterminate* heretics. Can my readers for a moment believe it poſſible that Iriſh noblemen, members of parliament, clergymen, grand jurors, magiſtrates, merchants, gentlemen, and others, many in reſpectable ſituations in the army, militia, &c. would have taken an oath which thus involved a determination *to exterminate Catholics?* In my Appendix (No. VI. Third Part) to theſe Strictures is given the Rules and Orders of this Society; and their declarations. Suffice it here to inſert the fifth rule of their Society; viz. that no perſon *do perſecute or upbraid* any one on account of his religious opinions; but that he will, on the contrary, be aiding and aſſiſting to every loyal ſubject *of every religious deſcription*".

Let my reader turn to Sir J. Temple's account of the Iriſh rebellion and maſſacre of 1641, and he will find that this falſhood of imputing to Iriſh Proteſtants an intention of exterminating Papiſts, is a very ſtale Catholic device; and which, in Mr. Plowden's hiſtorical ſketch of that period, he ſeems to have given as much credit to as he has done to this impudent falſhood in our own times. The ſimilarity of Iriſh rebellions is very extraordinary—the ſame pretended grievances, the ſame bare-faced inventions are at all times reſorted to, to gloſs over and palliate the hypocriſy and cruelty of them all.—Take from Sir J. Temple's work the names and the dates, and you would imagine you were reading Sir Richard Muſgrave's Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion of 1798.

In page 576 third vol. of his work the writer inſinuates that the well-known intention of the *county* of Armagh (he means the *borough*, which belonging to the Primate naturally returned two government members) to return Mr. Pelham and Dr. Duigenan to the enſuing Parliament, (the general election being approaching) coupled with other reports, riveted in the minds of the great

Digitized by Google

great mass of the people the firmest conviction, that the impunity of those fanatic exterminators of Armagh (so he stiles the Orangemen) found countenance and support from the seat of civil and ecclesiastical power. Dr. D. was, I believe, an avowed friend to the Orangemen, as was every loyal man in Ireland*. Will any man who knows Dr. D. suppose him capable of supporting or favouring a society, sworn to exterminate all the Catholics of Ireland?

In 1796 we find by Mr. Plowden's work, p. 538, "that Ireland was in a state bordering on insurrection." The societies of United Irishmen had multiplied, and were now spread through all Leinster and Ulster: outrages of the most shocking kind were daily perpetrated; several insurgents were apprehended, and numbers of them sent on board the fleet, the consequence of which measure are too well known to need a detail. At this period, no loyal gentleman could venture to remain in his house, unless protected by a military guard: the magistrates of the kingdom having been "put in dread and fear of their lives," were afraid to act: †jurors were intimidated, and chose to perjure themselves rather than be murdered. Assassins were acquitted, and the witnesses for the crown assassinated. The loyalist desponded, and the rebel became sure of success; and publicly wore his green or yellow badge of rebellion. Such being the state of Ireland in 1796, and no Irish gentleman who has a regard to truth will deny it, the next strong and coercive measure of the Irish government was the passing of the Insurrection Act, as the Irish Act, 36 of the King, is commonly called. The preamble to this statute contains a short but faithful history of the progress of Irish treason. The most remarkable sections of this act are: the 1st. which enacts that "persons *administering* oaths for the purposes of treason and rebellion are upon conviction to suffer death."

* These Societies of *Orangemen* (instituted *four years* after those of the *United Irishmen)* formed a rallying point to the loyalists of the lower orders of the Protestants, who found in their bond of connexion that mutual protection, which in most cases, from the system of terror pursued by the U. Irishmen, the magistrates were unable, and in *some instances afraid* to give them. That outrages were committed by the lower orders of *Orangemen* I do not deny, but they were the excesses of mistaken zeal, or retaliations upon the rebel party, for which (after the rebellion was *put down)* the perpetrators were prosecuted by the Government, and many of them were convicted and punished.—Silent leges inter arma.—In all violent political convulsions excesses will be committed.—Whilst we deprecate those committed in Ireland, let us make some allowances for the impetuosity of the Irish character, and recollect the provocations which the loyalists of that country had experienced.

† Report of Secret Committee, 1798, p. 7.

Digitized by Google

2d Sec. Perſons *taking* ſuch oaths without being compelled, to be tranſported.

3d Sec. Acceſſaries to be deemed principals.

6th Sec. All perſons excepting military men, militia, and yeomen having arms, to regiſter them, for which no fee to be taken by clerk of the peace.

12th Sec. Informations taken before magiſtrates, from perſons who may be afterwards murdered, to be received as evidence by a jury upon proof of the death or murder of the deponent.

15th Sec. Magiſtrates empowered to arreſt ſtrangers, and to ſend to priſon ſuch as cannot give a ſatisfactory account of themſelves.

16th Sec. The majority of the juſtices of peace of any diſturbed county, empowered to aſſemble and to repreſent to the Lord Lieutenant that their county is in a ſtate of diſturbance, or likely to become ſo, upon which report, the Lord Lieutenant, *with the advice of the Privy Council*, may proclaim ſuch county: the effects of proclaiming a county were, and are, that the inhabitants are compelled to keep within their houſes from ſun-ſet to ſun-riſe, under pain of impriſonment, or being ſent on board the fleet; but an appeal made within forty-eight hours, is left to the next ſeſſion.

20th Sec. Magiſtrates and juſtices empowered to enter houſes and ſearch for arms.

37th Sec. Left party aggrieved to his remedy in a civil action againſt magiſtrates or juſtices, for unlawfully detaining or impriſoning any ſubject, or ſearching for arms illegally.

This Act of Parliament paſſed through the Iriſh Houſe of Commons with the diſſenting voice alone of Lord Edward Fitzgerald!

An act was at the ſame time paſſed, "to indemnify ſuch perſons as had ſince the 1ſt of July 1795, acted for the preſervation of the public peace, and the ſuppreſſion of the inſurrections prevailing in ſome parts of the kingdom."

An act had been before paſſed, by which "ſufferers in perſons, habitations, or property, (from the outrages of the Peep-of-day-boys, &c. &c.) or their executors, between ſummer aſſizes 1795 and 1797, were empowered to recover ſatisfaction in damages from the going judge of aſſize or grand jury, to be levied off the county, barony, pariſh, town-land, &c. &c. in or near where ſuch offences or outrages were commit ed.

And another act was paſſed afterwards to enable them to come in and take the benefit of the former act, though the time limited by it had expired.

Such were the firſt ſtrong and coercive meaſures of the adminiſtration of the mild and humane Lord Camden.—Such were

Digitized by Google

were the harſh and oppreſſive meaſures which Engliſhmen were gravely told, goaded the Iriſh into rebellion: and which every loyal man of that country in the higheſt and loweſt ſituation in life then conſidered, and *ſtill conſiders* at this moment, 1804. as indiſpenſably neceſſary to the ſafety of the ſtate, and his own exiſtence.

When theſe acts were paſſed, the number of the United Iriſhmen in the *North alone*, amounted, by the Report of the Secret Committee of 1797, to 72,000 men. Their military organization had taken place, and their directory had an ambaſſador at Liſle, counteracting the negotiations of my Lord Malmeſbury for peace. (Appendix, No. VII. Third Part.)

An Iriſh patriot aſked in the Houſe of Commons, "was it wiſe to riſk the abuſe of ſuch powers (viz. thoſe of the inſurrection act) at ſuch a time?" In my opinion no powers could have been too ſtrong at ſuch a time, or at any time hereafter, when Iriſh rebellions may be organized: and I may add, that few loyal men in Ireland will be found to oppoſe the grant of ſuch powers, or I hope will have reaſon to complain of the abuſe of them. At this period the Habeas Corpus Act was, by the 37th of the King, firſt ſuſpended.

There was one *ſtrong* and *coercive* meaſure of my Lord Camden's adminiſtration, for which Iriſh traitors can never forgive him—the glorious inſtitution of the armed yeomanry of Ireland—into which thoſe *traitors* to the *Iriſh Union*, or Brotherhood, the loyal Orangemen, were all inſtantly admitted, and of which they formed by far the moſt * conſiderable part. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ*: hence the abominable calumnies that have been invented to aſperſe their fair fame and reputation, and to injure them in the opinions of their *Brother-Britons*. I do think, and perhaps thoſe who know mankind beſt will agree with me, that there can be no

* Your Committee have to obſerve with great ſatisfaction that the eſtimate for the yeomanry at firſt laid before Parliament was for a number not exceeding 20,000 men: that in the courſe of ſix months above 37,000 were arrayed, and that the zeal of the country had ſo riſen with its difficulties, that during the late rebellion the yeomanry force exceeded 50,000 men, and might have been increaſed to a much greater extent. It is unneceſſary to recal to the recollection and gratitude of Parliament and of the country, the ſervices they have performed during the unhappy ſtruggle in which we have been engaged; ſharing all the hardſhips and dangers, and performing all the duties in common with the King's regular and militia forces.—Report of Secret Committee of the Iriſh Houſe, 1798, p. 5.

ſtronger

Digitized by Google

ſtronger proof given how much *Orangemen* counteracted and tended to defeat the treaſonable deſigns of the *Iriſh Union*, than the univerſal execration in which they were held by every traitor to the King and Conſtitution in Ireland.

I follow this writer—

* "Some individuals who can only meaſure their own loyalty by the acrimony with which they calumniate their country, have upon the *ſtrength of the Report of the Houſe of Lords*, ſpecifically charged the U. Iriſhmen with holding regular committees of aſſaſſination."

As I cannot be brought to treat with diſreſpect the ſolemn Reports of Secret Committees of the Houſes of Parliament, or for a moment to ſuppoſe the members of them capable of fabricating falſhoods, and as I never thought that the impudent † libel publiſhed by Arthur O'Connor and company, in which they dared to accuſe the Iriſh Parliament with not having fairly reported their evidence, entitled to the ſmalleſt credit or attention, I do on the *authority of the Reports of the Secret Committees*, ſpecifically charge the United Iriſhmen with holding regular committees of aſſaſſination, to whoſe orders numbers of the loyal fell victims; and for the information of my readers, I ſhall add, that I have ſeen moſt of the numbers of the Union Star, a Belfaſt print, edited by an U. Iriſhman, and ſecretly

---

* Hiſt. Review, p. 572, 2d vol.

† I can eaſily explain this tranſaction to my readers:—

When General Humbert landed with his troops in Ireland, and made the extraordinary progreſs he did; O'Connor and his company who, to ſave their recreant lives, had made a full diſcloſure of their treaſons, and by ſo doing had become obnoxious to their party, determined at this particular juncture to make an effort to retrieve their characters with them; and accordingly they had the audacity in an advertiſement in a public print, to deny their evidence as it was printed in the Report of the Lords: they were accordingly ſummoned before the Committee of the Lords again; and General Humbert being now a priſoner, theſe men made no heſitation in again * ſigning their evidence, and acknowledging to the houſe, that it contained "the whole truth and nothing but the truth;" and ſince they have been ſent to France, and put out of the reach of juſtice, they have publiſhed *their report* of the evidence given by them, which any reader of common intereſt will perceive to be a feeble and impudent attempt to juſtify themſelves, and to invalidate that Report of the Lords, which will remain a perpetual memorial of their treaſon and infamy.

* They then (upon their ſecond examination) declared to the Houſe of Lords, that is was of the miſrepreſentations given in the newſpapers of their evidence, that they complained.—See the Lords' Report.

diſperſed

Digitized by Google

diſperſed by theſe ſocieties, in which ſome of the moſt exalted individuals of that country were pointed out for aſſaſſination *: but if, to inſiſt upon a fact notorious to every loyal man in Ireland be a calumny; (Appendix, No. VIII. Third Part) if, to aſſert, that the U. Iriſhmen, with ſome members of the Catholic Committee, organized the Iriſh rebellion of 1798; and if, to give it as my decided opinion, that the Orangemen contributed to preſerve Ireland to the Crown of England be calumny; if an anxious wiſh to undeceive my fellow-ſubjects in Great Britain, and to do juſtice to the zeal and fidelity of the loyal men of Ireland, be calumny—*I am a calumniator*.

We learn from this work, that † Catholic emancipation was in 1797, for the laſt time, brought forward; and we are alſo informed that nineteen members out of the 300 of which the Iriſh Houſe was compoſed, ſupported it. Such no doubt was the effect produced by Dr. Duigenan's

" diffuſe and infuriated Philippic againſt Popery impregnated with every inflammable matter that the blind prejudice and ‡ bigotry of the moſt barbarous ages have ever adminiſtered to the fanatic"!!!

We are next informed § " that the *Iriſh nation* was at this

---

* Lord Carhampton was conſtantly pointed out for aſſaſſination, and narrowly eſcaped a plot formed againſt his life, which ſome of his ſervants were to have executed. Among the numerous victims to the orders of theſe committees of aſſaſſination, I recollect the following: Mr. Harman, M. P. for Longford, Mr. Hume, M. P. for Wicklow, Col. St. George, Mr. Uniack, Rev. Mr. Knipe, clergyman and magiſtrate, Rev. Mr. Butler, ditto, Mr. Hamilton, late Fellow of Dublin College, Mr. Cummins, beſides a great many ſoldiers, who had informed their officers of the attempts to ſeduce them, and witneſſes (or *informers*, as they were called) innumerable.

It was aſſerted, " that this Union Star was printed and publiſhed by the connivance of the Iriſh government, and formed a part of the ſyſtem acted upon and encouraged in Ireland by the Britiſh government to carry their *infernal purpoſes*"!!! After this, can my reader wonder at the other calumnies propagated againſt the Iriſh government, and the loyaliſts of Ireland?

† Hiſt. Review, p. 585, 2d vol.

‡ If my reader has ever ſeen this or any other ſpeech of Dr. Duigenan, he will ſmile at this deſcription of his invincible arguments and nervous eloquence: if he has not, let him get them; and he will not wonder that Mr. P. could not venture to quote any ſingle paſſage out of any one of them; but has all through his work endeavoured to prejudice him againſt what he was afraid to tranſcribe.

§ Hiſt. Review, p. 586. He ought to have told his reader *what part* of the Iriſh nation—this putting *partem pro totâ*, is a common figure in his rhetoric!

time

Digitized by Google

time (the close of the year 1797) worked up to a state of extraordinary fermentation." In the next page, he instantly relieves his reader from the trouble of guessing the cause, by stating the fact,

"that twenty-five French ships of the line, fifteen *stout* frigates, besides sloops and transports for an army of twenty-five thousand men, to be commanded by General Hoche, whose military abilities were esteemed equal to those of any officer in the French service, Moreau and Bonaparte scarcely excepted, were ready to slip out of Brest for Ireland."

General Hoche, as we all know, sailed for the coast of that kingdom, and returned to the place from whence he came.

We next meet a very judicious observation.

"The fate of this fleet of the enemy proved, that a superior force is not in all cases a certain security against invasion. Ireland, notwithstanding the superiority of the British fleet, was sixteen days at the mercy of the enemy, and saved from attack only by the elements."

But as we have now a fleet of men of war and *stout* frigates at Cork, I trust that Ireland will not be again for sixteen days at the mercy of the French.

Mr. Plowden's account of the ardour of the troops and Irish yeomen upon this occasion is correct; and his statement of the friendly disposition of the common people of the south of Ireland towards the King's forces is also accurate; the *Director* Emmet has thus accounted for their conduct—"a letter arrived which was considered as authentic by the Irish executive, stating that the expedition was deferred till spring, when England would be invaded, and probably Ireland. This contradiction then threw the executive off their guard, in consequence of which no measures were taken to prepare the people for the reception of the French army; the people were left to themselves *."

Whether Mr. Plowden's next statement of the measures of concession and conciliation (viz. reform and emancipation) resolved upon by our Cabinet, as also the intention of sending an exalted personage to succeed Lord Camden as Viceroy of Ireland be equally correct, as I never was in the secrets of the Ministry, I cannot determine: his reader will observe that he states it as a report, without informing him from whence he received this great intelligence. If the fine measures, according to his history, then in contemplation, had been pursued, he is san-

* Report of S. Committee of 1798. Appendix XXXI. p. cclxxxiv.

guine

Digitized by Google

guine in the expectation, that they would have * "reclaimed the *malcontents*, (rebels they are called in Ireland) and afforded that *redreſs* which was then *generally* called for, and uprightly and ſincerely by moſt, inſidiouſly and traitorouſly by a *few*." The Report of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Houſe in 1797 ſtates, from a paper ſeized by a Mr. Elliſon in a Northern Committee, and dated 7th of the very month Dec. 1797, in which Gen. Hoche's fleet arrived in Bantry Bay, that their numbers then in the province of Ulſter amounted to 99,411 men, with an account of ſuch a quantity of arms, ammunition, &c. as my limits do not permit me to inſert, and for which I muſt refer my readers to the Reports of the Secret Committee of the Iriſh Parliament for 1797, 1798, Appendix xxix.—and in Appendix xxxi. they will find Dr. M'Nevin declaring, that Parliament had underrated the number of their men, and the quantity of their ammunition.

We are next introduced to † Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and a deſcription is given of his very *deep*, artful and deſigning character. I ſhall paſs over his intended trip to France, arreſt on the coaſt of Kent, trial at Maidſtone, narrow eſcape; the witneſſes produced to give him a character, *ſome* of whom ſwore it was very *unreſerved*.

The next remarkable event which this work records is the ‡ ſeceſſion in this year from the Iriſh Parliament of the Oppoſition, which upon one diviſion was reduced to ſeven, who declined any further attendance, finding the majority of the Houſe of Commons deaf to all their plans of reform, emancipation, conceſſion, and conciliation; moſt men in Ireland being at this time perfectly convinced, that theſe meaſures were to be determined, not by diviſions of *ayes* and *noes* in Parliament, but by diviſions of his Majeſty's troops, and the rebel forces in the field of battle.

We are now arrived at the eventful year 1798. The late Sir R. Abercrombie had been lately appointed Commander in Chief in Ireland, and went over to that country fully impreſſed with an idea, that the diſcontents of the people, and the outrages committed by the U. Iriſhmen, had been provoked by the conduct of the government and the King's forces in Ireland. Accordingly, *immediately* upon his arrival, he iſſued thoſe *general orders* of the 26th of February, which gave ſuch offence to the

---

* Hiſt. Review, p. 591, 2d vol.
† Hiſt. Review, p. 591.
‡ Ibid. p. 623.

army

Digitized by Google

army and *Militia* in Ireland: and I *believe* our Miniſtry thought it prudent at length to recal him, and ſent him to Egypt, to gather thoſe laurels which will never fade round his tomb.

On the 3d of March the Iriſh Miniſter, Mr. (now Lord) Pelham, fully appriſed of the critical ſituation of the kingdom, and the neceſſity of at laſt reſorting to ſtrong meaſures, wrote to the Commander in the North, General Lake, by order of the Lord Lieutenant, "to employ his forces againſt all perſons aſſembled in arms, not legally authorized ſo to be; to diſperſe all tumultuous aſſemblies of perſons, though they may not be in *arms, without waiting for the ſanction and aſſiſtance of the civil authority, if in your opinion the peace of the realm, or the ſafety of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, may be endangered by waiting for ſuch authority."

And in another part of Mr. Pelham's letter are theſe expreſſions: "His Excellency gives you this full authority, in order to give your diſcretion the greateſt latitude, relying at the ſame time on your prudence and diſcernment in the exerciſe of it, ſo that the peaceable and well-affected may be protected againſt the evil deſigns of thoſe who have threatened their lives and properties with deſtruction."

General Lake did accordingly proceed to exerciſe the ſtrong powers with which he was at length inveſted; thoſe who know General Lake's character, will not readily believe, that he exerciſed his authority wantonly; nevertheleſs, by force and by fear (there was no other mode left) he did in ſome meaſure †diſarm the North; and the rebel began now to deſpond, and the loyaliſt to feel encouragement and ſecurity.

Theſe vigorous meaſures having been found ſo expedient and ſucceſsful in the North, the Iriſh government determined in the ſame manner to diſarm Leinſter. Accordingly, a very large body of troops was marched into the county of Kildare: and on the 3d of April, General Abercrombie iſſued, by deſire of the Lord Lieutenant, a proclamation from his head-quarters

---

* They uſed to meet in thouſands under pretence of attending funerals: 9000 marched in proceſſion through Dublin after a corpſe. This was to ſhew their ſtrength, and encourage their party.—See Report of Secret Committee, 1790, p. 6.

† Above 6000 muſkets, and ſome thouſands of pikes, were ſurrendered to General Lake in the North.—Of the good effects of diſarming the North, ſee Report of Secret Committee for 1798, p. 7.—See Appendix to Report of Secret Committee, 1798, No. 39, for the return of arms ſurrendered in various parts of that kingdom in 1797, 1798.

at

Digitized by Google

at Kildare, requiring the diſaffected to ſurrender their arms within a certain time, and threatening, in caſe of non-compliance, to diſtribute large bodies of troops among them at free-quarters: the Kildare rebels did not give in their arms, and the threat was executed. To ſuppoſe that large bodies of troops, let looſe from military reſtraint, did not commit outrages were folly: houſes in which ſmall *depots* of arms were found were burned: numbers of men were flogged in various parts of the country, as well as in the capital, and diſcoveries of concealed weapons obtained in conſequence: and to avail myſelf of Mr. Plowden's expreſſions*, "the exhortations of the chiefs to bear their evils with ſteady patience, until an opportunity of ſucceſsful inſurrection ſhould occur, proved vain with the lower claſſes," and the Directors of the Iriſh Union, finding that their labours for ſeven years paſt were on the point of being deſtroyed by the † vigour and ſpirit of the Iriſh government, gave their ſignal, and the greater part of the province of Leinſter broke out into open rebellion upon the 23d May, 1798.

Theſe were the firſt authorized meaſures of great rigour and ſeverity which took place under Lord Camden's government. What was the conſequence? We have the confeſſion of one of the Directors of the *Iriſh Union*, that they prematurely forced that rebellion, which he and his aſſociates in treaſon wiſhed to keep back, until the arrival of foreign aſſiſtance; and were they not juſtifiable by every maxim of policy and ſelf-preſervation? They had been long preſſed upon his Excellency by thoſe beſt acquainted with the hiſtory of that country, and the character of its people: the mild and humane diſpoſition of Lord Camden made him averſe from meaſures of ſeverity, until the laſt extremity; reaſoning, as moſt of our countrymen will naturally do, from his knowledge of the diſpoſition of civilized Engliſhmen, who love the conſtitution and ſubmit to the laws of their country, he could have formed little conception of the influence of religious bigotry upon the maſs of a people, averſe from legal reſtraints, and unattached to the civil and eccleſiaſtical government of their country.—A ‡ ſaying of my Lord Carhampton to Lord Camden was then

* Hiſt. Review, p. 677.

† The provincial committee for Leinſter had been juſt before ſeized in a Mr. Bond's houſe, and Lord E. Fitzgerald arreſted, &c. &c.

‡ I give this as a report, as I pretend not to ſay that Lord Carhampton made uſe of this expreſſion to Lord Camden; but the former certainly made the obſervation to ſome one, which was very generally liked and repeated.

Digitized by Google

in the mouth of every loyal man in the upper ranks of life in Ireland. "My Lord, if you ſuffer them to go to war with you, and go to law with them, it does not require much ſagacity to foreſee the iſſue of the conteſt." The government at laſt reſorted to arms, but not until they had found the laws ineffectual: if any further juſtification of meaſures of ſelf-preſervation be neceſſary, the fact, that the rebellion was the moſt formidable in the county of Wexford, (which owing to the inſidious repreſentations of ſome of thoſe very Catholic prieſts, who fought againſt our troops in the field) was not diſarmed, or ſubjected to free-quarters, is a full confirmation of the expediency and policy of thoſe ſtrong meaſures, which at our ſide of the water have been ſo reprobated by men, no doubt very humane, but very ignorant of the true ſtate of Ireland: they had the approbation of almoſt every loyal ſubject in that country, whom I preſume to have been the beſt judges of the danger, and were loudly condemned by thoſe traitors whoſe deſigns they defeated.

The progreſs of the horrible rebellion of 1798 has been ſo minutely and faithfully detailed by Sir R. Muſgrave, that it is unneceſſary for me to ſay much upon this ſubject. His work is conſidered as authentic by thoſe who witneſſed the ſcenes he deſcribes. There is hardly a fact in his work, which is not vouched by affidavits and ſtate-papers in his Appendix:—and what is the defence which his opponents make for their party? they charge his Majeſty's troops and officers with perpetrating barbarities, which no man who knows the characteriſtic humanity of a Britiſh army will believe. There have been two works written in oppoſition (I will not ſay in anſwer) to Sir Richard Muſgrave's Hiſtory; one by a Rev. Mr. Gordon, the other by a Mr. Hay. The miſrepreſentations in the Rev. Mr. Gordon's book have been noticed and expoſed by Sir R. Muſgrave, in his third edition, p. 545, where Sir Richard charges him with having written his work, for the purpoſe of conciliating his Catholic pariſhioners; and in order that he might receive his tithes, and live in ſecurity in his pariſh in the county of Wexford, from which his predeceſſor was hunted; which charge the Rev. Mr. Gordon has not denied in the ſecond edition of his book publiſhed ſince this accuſation was made: and further, at the ſummer aſſizes of the county of Wexford in 1802, twenty-ſeven magiſtrates of that county entered into the following reſolution:

"Having read the Rev. Mr. Gordon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, we are of opinion, that it contains a falſe and ſcandalous libel on the magiſtrates of the county, and that the whole book ſeems to us to be written

Digitized by Google

written for the purpoſe of excuſing rebellion, and not to give a fair relation of facts."

(Signed and publiſhed in the newſpapers.)

As for Mr. Hay's work, any perſon who reads it will in an inſtant perceive, that it has been written under the influence of perſonal reſentment and party-ſpirit. This writer in his book informs us, that he was *eleven months* under the hands of a *Proteſtant* * *inquiſition;* (the firſt of the kind I have ever heard of) from whoſe perſecution, Lord Cornwallis refuſed to deliver him: having been at length releaſed from his confinement, he has publiſhed his work, (in which he makes the moſt abominable charges againſt the magiſtrates, the gentry, and army of Ireland,) for the purpoſe, as he informs his readers, "of promoting harmony and union," (not a legiſlative Union, to which he ſeems from various paſſages in his book to be no friend,) which "Harmony and Union" if it can be once effected, in his opinion, "no power upon earth can put down the Iriſh." Such are the opponents of Sir Richard Muſgrave!

It has been obſerved of ſome men, that they are fond of bad company, Mr. P. throughout his work ſeems to have a great predilection for *bad writers*, whoſe credit he has attempted to ſet up, by decrying all thoſe of eſtabliſhed authority: there is certainly great originality in the attempt, of the ſucceſs of it *his* reader muſt judge *for himſelf*. Such of *my* readers as may think proper to compare Sir R. Muſgrave's Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion, with this part of Mr. Plowden's work, will obſerve, that all the leading facts detailed by the Baronet are copied in his work, with the addition of *his own* comments, which in truth differ materially.

I ſhall give here one inſtance: after admitting the maſſacres and cruelties of the Iriſh Rebels, we have the following account, or rather juſtification of their conduct.

"No nation feels more keenly and reſents more highly than the Iriſh the ſufferings and oppreſſions of their anceſtors, none ſo perſonally make a common cauſe with them, becauſe none hold them in ſo much reſpect and veneration."

This is a point of modern Iriſh honor, with which I was not before acquainted. I ſhould think it quite ſufficient for any race of men to reſent the inſults offered to themſelves; but

* The Grand Inquiſitor of which was the Right Honorable Geo. Ogle, a gentleman of the mildeſt diſpoſition, and the moſt cultivated talents.

Digitized by Google

for the Iriſh to take up the *cudgels* for their *anceſtors*, is not only highly romantic, but as I apprehend muſt make reconciliation for ever hopeleſs.

Again, "their own ſufferings under a penal code for a length of time, (which was repeated when many of them were children) and the recent provocations, &c.&c.&c. all operated to enflame the Iriſh againſt thoſe, whom they in their native language called *Saſſanagh*, which meant indifferently Engliſhmen, or Proteſtants, and to which idea it was lamentably true, that recent circumſtances prompted them to annex the moſt odious and ſanguinary epithets." But if "retaliation," as this writer inſiſts, was their object in committing their horrible cruelties, why was it not confined to the *male Saſſanaghs*, and why did the unfortunate Proteſtant women and children, who could have given no provocation, come in at Scullabogue and other places for their ſhare of this "retaliation"?

Was it upon the principle of retaliation that ſome of the moſt indulgent maſters in the county of Wexford, were murdered by their own Catholic ſervants, who had lived many years under their roofs? Was it upon a principle of retaliation that five * Proteſtant clergymen, two of them above eighty years of age, were murdered by their Catholic neighbours? If "retaliation" was the order of the day, why did the United Catholic army of Wexford, keep Lord Kingſborough as an hoſtage, whoſe zeal had made him peculiarly obnoxious to their party? Let not my Engliſh reader be deceived; ſuch is the religious rancour in the minds of moſt of the middling and the lower orders of Iriſh Catholics againſt their fellow ſubjects of the Proteſtant perſuaſion, ſuch the religious prejudices kept alive among them by the lower order of their prieſts, that maſſacres of the Proteſtants ever will take place, *as they ever have done*, in all the rebellions in that country, ſince the Reformation; witneſs the events of the 23d May, 1803. Emmet, who if he had any religion was a Proteſtant, ſtrongly de-

* The Rev. Meſſrs. Turner, Burrowes, Throke, Pentland, and Haydon; the Rev. Mr. Francis died afterwards in conſequence of the ill-treatment he received from the rebels; and the Rev. Mr. Owen, whom they tortured, loſt his reaſon; the Rev. Mr. Haydon, 80 years of age, having refuſed to be baptized after the mode of the Catholic church, was *piked* in the preſence of his wife, and his body expoſed for *nine* days in the ſtreets of Enniſcorthy.

P. 107, of Dr. Duigenan's Fair Repreſentation.

precated

Digitized by Google

precated *aſſaſſination*, in his Manifeſto, but vain was his exhortation to his ſanguinary followers.

Mr. Plowden next roundly aſſerts, "that more *cold blood* was ſhed, more property deſtroyed, more houſes burned, *and more women abuſed* by the troops, than by the *inſurgents*," (rebels they are called in Ireland); for the laſt fact, he relies much upon the authority of "*a lady of faſhion*," but he does not give us the name of his "*female aſſiſtant*;" and as to the quantity of property deſtroyed, I have only to inform my reader, that the Iriſh Government erected a board of compenſation, to indemnify thoſe whoſe property was deſtroyed by the rebels, and that they paid to the ſufferers the ſum of ſix hundred and thirty thouſand pounds of the money of the public.

This writer alſo inſiſts upon the loyalty* of the Catholic inhabitants of Wexford, which he endeavours to prove by the addreſſes from their prieſts and their flocks, preſented to the Iriſh Government, previous to the inſurrection of 1798. This I can alſo eaſily explain; Wexford is the neareſt harbour in Ireland to Breſt, from which port the Iriſh Directory always expected the *promiſed ſuccours* from France; to lull the ſuſpicions of the government, this county was always kept in profound tranquillity by the Directory, in ſo much ſo, that few of the regular forces were quartered therein: the magiſtrates had indeed long entertained ſuſpicions of the extenſive but ſecret progreſs of treaſon in their county: and when the Iriſh Government proceeded to diſarm Kildare, they were anxious for the adoption of the ſame meaſures in the county of Wexford†. The

---

* Hiſt. Review, p. 710, third volume.

† The county of Wexford is a very fertile county, thickly inhabited by a numerous and opulent gentry, and in no part of Ireland was there in 1798 a more flouriſhing tenantry or more indulgent landlords; proviſions of every ſort were extremely plentiful and cheap, and the conditions of the farmers and peaſantry approached nearer to our own, than thoſe of any other parts of Ireland, the linen counties of the N. excepted. Nevertheleſs, it was in this county of Wexford, that this peaſantry and ſome of theſe farmers committed ſuch enormities, and in which the gentry ſuffered ſo much from the bigotry and brutal fury of *their tenantry and domeſtics*. In the counties of Clare and Kerry in the Province of Connaught, where the condition of the peaſantry is more wretched than in any other part of Ireland, during the horrid rebellion of 1798, no inſurrectionary movements took place. Surely then, the poverty of the lower orders of the Iriſh peaſantry cannot be aſſigned as the *cauſe* of the turbulence and outrages of that kingdom. *The Proteſtants of the lower orders* in Ireland are amenable to the laws, and faithful to the government, a fact which no Iriſh gentleman who values truth will deny.

rebel

Digitized by Google

rebel party took the alarm, the pariſh Prieſts, moſt of them * engines in the hands of the Directory, immediately aſſembled their flocks, and the moſt loyal and dutiful addreſſes were compoſed and ſigned by thouſands upon thouſands, and forwarded to the Caſtle, where they were *backed* by the repreſentations of a nobleman, who was made the dupe of this deep artifice, but who has been long ſince convinced of the duplicity of this tranſaction: in conſequence of theſe addreſſes, Wexford was not diſarmed, was left bare of troops, and was occupied without reſiſtance by the rebel army†.

Mr. P. admits, that the "Orange ſyſtem", as he calls it, made no public appearance in the county of Wexford until the month before the Rebellion. This Iriſh excuſe for rebellion failing, he attributes this univerſal inſurrection in every part of that county‡, to the ingenuity of a ſerjeant of the North Cork Militia§, whom he calls "Tom the Devil," in putting pitched caps upon, and ſetting fire to the heads of the citizens of Wexford, then to all appearance loyal and well conducted: the ſtories which we hear from our nurſes are not more abſurd.—The whole country of Wexford roſe *en maſſe* in rebellion, on the ſame night; one hundred of the North Cork Militia marched out from the town to attack the advanced column of the rebels, and were every man *piked*, the town aſſailed from without, and full of ſecret enemies within, was evacuated by ‖ the few Proteſtant yeomen, who made good their retreat to Dungannon Fort, in the County of Waterford; the rebels took poſſeſſion of the town, and the horrid ſcenes which Sir R. Muſgrave has ſo faithfully deſcribed, enſued. Lord Kingſborough, the commander of the North Cork Militia, in which this ſuppoſed *Tom the Devil* was a ſerjeant, fell into the hands of the rebels; if his ſerjeant had been guilty of ſuch barbarities, would it have been poſſible for the rebel leaders to have preſerved his Lordſhip from the "retaliation" of the Catholic mob of Wexford? whereas Lord Kingſborough was ſpared, whilſt an hundred and ſixty individuals were butchered in cold blood upon the bridge of Wexford. As I know the ma-

---

* See note * to page 148 of theſe Strictures.

† For the truth of this ſtatement, I appeal to every loyal inhabitant of that county.

‡ Hiſt. Review, p. 713, third volume.

§ So compleatly was the Iriſh government deceived by the falſe appearance of tranquillity in the county of Wexford, that when the rebellion broke out, there were no troops in Wexford, except one company of the North Cork militia, all of whom were ſlain at *Oulart*. See Sir R. Muſgrave's work, and the various publications of the day.

‖ Almoſt all the Catholic yeomen of the county of Wexford deſerted to the rebels.

lignity

Digitized by Google

lignity of Iriſh traitors, and their anxiety to ſtigmatize his Majeſty's troops, I am not ſurpriſed that *they* ſhould have invented and diſſeminated ſuch falſehoods; but I cannot avoid expreſſing my concern and aſtoniſhment, that an Engliſh gentleman ſhould be ſo credulous, as to inſert ſuch accuſations in his work, and thus perpetuate (*if poſſible*) ſuch aſperſions upon his Majeſty's army in Ireland.

In page 708 of this Hiſt. Review, third volume, there is another inſtance of the blind credulity of this gentleman, and of the malevolence of the party that ſupplied him with the information: after giving * an account of the engagement between Sir J. Duffe's army, and a very large body of the Iriſh rebels on the Curragh of Kildare, directly contradictory to the General's diſpatch to the Iriſh government, and after endeavouring to invalidate the authenticity of the different official *bulletins* by obſerving, that "even † the *well intended* propagation of *notorious falſehood* under the ſanction of *authority*, muſt neceſſarily *ulcerate* thoſe, whom that ſame authority prevents from publiſhing the reality in juſtification," he gives his reader ‡ a letter from the *Catholic* pariſh curate of Naas to his Catholic titular Archbiſhop, in which, in contradiction alſo to the official bulletin, he aſſerts that only ten rebels were killed in their attack upon Naas, *which took place at night*, but that in the courſe of three or four hours after, fifty-ſeven of a *crowd in the ſtreet* were killed; and the letter goes on to ſtate that an innocent man was convicted and executed for the murder of a Captain Swain, without any form of trial, that his body was cut open, his heart taken out, put upon the point of a *wattle* (or ſtake) and for *nine weeks* expoſed upon the top of a houſe, and that *they* (he does not ſay ſoldiers, but it is plain from the letter that they are meant) after this man's body had been almoſt conſumed, brought a large piece of his fleſh into an houſe, called for plate, knife, and fork, and ſalt, and then declared in the preſence of an *old woman*, "that *paddy* ate ſweet, confirmed with a "d—n their eyes§."

I am warranted in ſtating, that the Earl of Mayo, the proprietor of this town, Lord Gosford, who commanded the Armagh militia in Naas, during the whole of the rebellion,

---

* On the authority of the Rev. Mr. Gordon, aforeſaid.

† Hiſt. Review, p. 709.

‡ In a note to ſame page.

§ This is the oath of Engliſhmen, as by J—s is of Iriſhmen: it muſt therefore be againſt *the Engliſh nation* that this horrid charge was intended.

Captain

Digitized by Google

Captain Armſtrong of the Royal Iriſh Artillery, and the Rev. Mr. Sleater, the Proteſtant clergyman of Naas, living in that town during the whole of that eventful period, do ſolemnly declare, that no ſuch tranſaction took place; ſo that the ſtory is an infamous fabrication, for which the author of it ought to be proſecuted and puniſhed, and which might have taken place had he not cautiouſly avoided accuſing any particular perſon or perſons directly with the action, in his letter to his titular *archbiſhop*, whom it ill became to forward ſuch a falſehood on ſuch authority, to an Engliſh gentleman, to get it inſerted in an Hiſtory of Ireland. In p. 763, Mr. P. alſo ſtates, without condeſcending to give any authority for ſo horrible a fact, that "no ſooner had the army (under General Moore) entered the town of Wexford, than all the wounded men in the hoſpital were put to the ſword," which I *am authorized* to ſay, is unfounded in fact; that Iriſh rebels ſhould be anxious to calumniate thoſe troops who defeated them, is not ſurprizing, but that an Engliſh gentleman, ſhould ſtate thus lightly ſuch charges againſt the Britiſh army, is to me unaccountable. I pretend not to juſtify the mutual exceſſes of ſtraggling parties during a civil war, but theſe charges of cruelty could not have taken place without the connivance of the commanding officers, and therefore prudence ought to have prevented this writer from inſerting in his work (without the beſt authority) charges, which, had they been true, muſt for ever tarniſh the Britiſh arms.

I ſhould never have done, were I to follow this work through all its miſtatements. In truth, where the accuracy of the Government diſpatches is not only queſtioned by him, but boldly denied, I am at a loſs to know what documents to produce to prove the miſtatements in this part of the work; for in page 802, this gentleman further aſſerts, that "little reliance is to be placed on the official accounts of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, in the ſeveral engagements and rencounters. According to the moſt probable accounts to be had from the war-office, the number of the army loſt in this rebellion, amounts in the whole to 19,700 men, and according to the general government accounts of the total loſs of the rebels, it exceeded 50,000."

From the Adjutant-General's office in Ireland, a friend has furniſhed me with the following official return, in which I muſt obſerve, the yeomen killed are not included; but under the column (dead) my reader will find an accurate liſt of the troops of the line and militia, who were killed, or who died during the year 1798.

Effective

Digitized by Google

Effective ſtrength of the Army in Ireland, from the 1ſt of May 1798, to the 1ſt of September, ditto.

	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Dead.	Deſert.
Effectives, 1ſt. May, 1798	6,227	35,872	50	101
1ſt. June, ...	6,440	35,927	246	70
1ſt. July, ...	6,959	41,672	346	48
1ſt. Auguſt, ...	7,941	45,206	110	104
1ſt. September, ...	7,934	42,973*	195	96
			947	419

Total actual loſs, yeomen not included, } 1366 Men.

And in his account of the number of our forces defeated by General Humbert at Caſtlebar, he has made the number amount to *ſix* thouſand men, who he ſays loſt *fourteen* pieces of cannon.

General Lake's force on that occaſion amounted to twelve Royal Iriſh Artillery-men, and two guns; a ſquadron of Dragoons, 200 fencibles, and two Regiments of Militia, of 600 men each, beſides yeomen. Mr. P. attributes the defeat at Caſtlebar to the circumſtance of Gen. Lake having ordered a retreat. No order for a retreat was given by Gen. Lake; I ſhall only obſerve, that of the Artillery but two men eſcaped, Captain Shortal and a private, but not until Captain S. with his own hand had ſpiked one gun; the other having been overturned and rendered uſeleſs before the defeat†.

Having made theſe remarks upon ſome of the moſt glaring miſrepreſentations of the events of the Iriſh Rebellion of 1798, to be found in this work, I ſhall now offer to my readers a few facts collected from Dr. Duigenan's Fair Repreſentation, the truth of which have never been denied except by party writers, or thoſe implicated in that rebellion.

The whole maſs of the Catholic population of Kildare, Wexford and Carlow, roſe at once in rebellion, they were joined by many from Meath and from Dublin; above twenty Catholic Prieſts took an active part in the field, twelve of whom, by Mr. Plowden's account, (and he has omitted ſome)

* Some of the Iriſh Milita were in this month ſent to Guernſey, and a regiment of the line ſent out of the country.

† For the truth of this ſtatement, I appeal to the officers who were in this engagement at Caſtlebar.

were

Digitized by Google

were brought to juſtice, and one titular biſhop was obliged to fly that kingdom for his treaſon; ſervice was regularly performed in the rebel camps, and in Wexford by the Catholic clergymen, who baptized ſuch Preteſtant converts as, to ſave their lives, choſe to undergo that ceremony at their hands. The ſtandards of this rebel army, amounting to about 50,000 men, had a *white croſs* upon a green flag, and moſt of the Catholic yeomen deſerted to the Leinſter united army, whoſe progreſs was marked by devaſtation, and an unrelenting perſecution of the Iriſh Proteſtants of the loweſt order, whether yeomen or not.

In the North of Ireland where, by the Report of the Secret Committee, the United Iriſhmen amounted in 1797 to nearly one hundred thouſand men, of theſe not above 10,000 roſe in arms in the counties only of Down and Artrim, of which about a third were Preſbyterians of the loweſt order, the reſt Catholics, and though the ſyſtem of flogging, burning houſes, &c. had been reſorted to in the attempt to diſarm that province, yet this northern rebel army, who had juſt as good a plea for "retaliation," and which was beſides collected in that part of Ireland, where the *Orange ſocieties* had been longeſt formed, and were moſt numerous, committed during its progreſs no maſſacres or outrages, and yet it was alſo headed by a clergyman (not of the Catholic but) of the Preſbyterian religion*.

It is therefore, in my opinion, impoſſible to attribute the horrible cruelties committed by the Leinſter rebel army either to the plea of "retaliation," or the pretended dread of the Orangemen.

The outrages of this army detached the Preſbyterians from their new alliance, and many of them joined their Proteſtant brethren, in ſuppreſſing the rebellion.

There is nothing new, ſaid the wiſe Solomon, under the ſun; there is certainly nothing new in Iriſh rebellions: in 1641, the ſame alliance was formed between the Preſbyterians and Catholics againſt the Government, the maſſacres of Sir Phelim O'Neal and his aſſociates, (though they at firſt ſpared the Diſſenters) diſſolved the connexion, and the Preſbyterians joined the Proteſtants in the common cauſe of ſelf-preſervation.

Our forefathers attributed every thing that they did not underſtand to the powers of witchcraft; ſome of us attribute the Iriſh rebellion of 1798, to the French revolution. The French revolution was but the ſpark which ſet the combuſtible matter

* See Dr. Duigenan's Fair Repreſentation, p. 85, et ſeq.

on

Digitized by Google

on fire; but the *gun powder* was there, before the French revolution was in contemplation.

There are ſome of opinion, that had Catholic emancipation (Appendix, No. IX. Third Part) been granted, the rebellion would not have taken place; the bill of 1793, for the relief of his Majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects of Ireland, gave them every privilege, except the right to ſit in Parliament, and to fill the great offices of ſtate, and the Catholic nobility and thoſe of the gentry, who had *alone* reaſon to complain of this excluſion, were faithful to his Majeſty and their allegiance to his government.

Look into the page of hiſtory, and ſee did conceſſions ever prevent revolutions; or was any country ever loſt by firmneſs.

Charles the Firſt granted the demands upon demands made by his democratic Parliaments and diſcontented ſubjects, in both kingdoms; after he had yielded the power over the militia of England, he made (when it was too late) a ſtand, and he loſt his life upon the block. Louis the XVI. granted the demands of the Parliament of Paris, he next yielded to every meaſure propoſed by the National Convention, he made no ſtand againſt his rebellious ſubjects, and his head was ſevered from his body by the *guillotine*.

I have only now to obſerve, in anſwer to Mr. Plowden's panegyrics upon the effects of the ſyſtem of lenity purſued by the Marquis of Cornwallis upon his ſucceeding Lord Camden in the government of Ireland, that the ſtrength of the rebellion of 1798, was ſubdued and broken by the defeat at Vinegar Hill, and the conſequent ſurrender of Wexford, *before the arrival of his Excellency in Ireland*, and that the mercy ſhewn to the rebels, and the protections * granted by his Lordſhip to them, can never with any reaſon be inſtanced as a proof, that meaſures of lenity would have prevented a rebellion, *deeply planned and long organized*, becauſe they put a ſtop to that

---

* See in Sir James Ware's Annals of Ireland, the *uſe* the ancient Iriſh made of the protections granted to them, particularly in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

See in Appendix, No. XXIV. of Sir Richard Muſgrave's Hiſtory the woeful ſtate of Ireland in 1799, 1800. See alſo Appendix, XV. p. 277. See alſo XXIV. p. 524, 525. See in his work alſo the State of Leinſter and Connaught, upon the landing of General Humbert in the latter province, the people were *ſuppoſed* to be loyal and peaceable until that event. See how many Prieſts headed their flocks in Mayo or Sligo: theſe events took place under the lenient adminiſtration of the Marquis Cornwallis.

vengeance,

Digitized by Google

vengeance, which in all cafes of this nature, the victorious party is too inclined to take upon their enemies.

The adminiſtration of Lord Cornwallis has the eternal honour of having effected the great meaſure of a Legiſlative UNION between Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. Plowden's compilation upon this ſubject, collected from the newſpapers, and anti-union publications, and containing moſt of thoſe groſs calumnies, which violent partiſans, deſtitute of ſhame or candour propagated, to render this great meaſure odious to the people of Ireland, is, in my opinion, little calculated to reconcile to the Union thoſe who condemned and oppoſed; or, to do juſtice to the motives of thoſe who approved and ſupported it. His hiſtory of this meaſure is introduced by the following obſervation:

"In ſome families of the higheſt conſequence, the father and the ſon voted on the oppoſite ſides; and this political variance produced no domeſtic difference. It muſt, however, *in truth* be admitted, that the nerves of ſeveral of the members in both Houſes of Parliament were from the ſhock of the late rebellion ſo much weakened, that they unconditionally ſurrendered the exerciſe of any diſcretion upon the ſubject—many of them too readily gave up the prepoſſeſſions and convictions of their whole lives, to the momentary lure of advantages *holden* out to the ſupporters of the meaſure; and ſome it cannot be denied baſely ſold what they ſincerely thought to be the intereſt of their country, for their preſent gain"—

which illiberal paragraph, rendered into plain Engliſh, means, that cowards, fools, and rogues, were the chief ſupporters of this meaſure.

I greatly fear that ſome of Mr. Plowden's readers will be malicious enough to doubt the ſincerity of his approbation of the Union, which he has, throughout his work, recommended as the only remedy for all the miſeries of that country, when they meet in his hiſtory of this great meaſure, ſuch paragraphs as the following:

"Although the horrors of the late Rebellion had now merged in the feelings and irritations created by the queſtion of Union; ſtill the old means of proclaiming different diſtricts to be in a ſtate of diſturbance was reſorted to (mark, reader, Lord Cornwallis was then Lord-Lieutenant) and it is not a little remarkable, that the firſt County proclaimed to be in that ſtate, was that of * Galway,

* The County of Galway was proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant and Privy-Council, in conſequence of the revival of the horrid practice of *houghing* cattle in that county.

on

Digitized by Google

on the 12th of February, in which county, the earlieſt and moſt vigorous exertions had been made in favour of Union: whence many concluded, that the advocates for that meaſure, ſuch as were the Earl of Clanricard, and moſt of the nobility and gentry of that county, conſidered that it would be the more effectually carried, the more the people were ſubjected to military rule and influence."

And in a note to the page, containing this paragraph, is given a return of the effective force of the Engliſh militia and regiments of the line ſent to Ireland in Auguſt, 1798, in conſequence of the rebellion.

Again, in p. 977,

"If credit be allowed to the anti-unioniſts, the meaneſt artifices were practiſed to obtain ſignatures to the ſeveral addreſſes: and the loweſt of the rabble were invited to ſubſcribe their names, or affix their marks*."

Again, in p. 1024,

"In returning from the Houſe, ſome of the members were inſulted by the populace for ſupporting the Union: no ſerious miſchief enſued—applications were made to the Viceroy for protection, and from that time forward, *under pretence* of ſecuring the members from inſult and *real outrage*, a regular guard of cavalry was mounted in Foſter's Place, near to the Parliament Houſe."

Again, p. 1024,

"When the number of place-men, penſioners, and other influenced members who had voted on the late ſlender diviſion is conſidered, the Miniſter had but little grounds of triumphing in his majority of 48; if from them were to be collected the genuine ſenſe of the independent part of the Houſe, and of the people of Ireland whom they repreſented."

Some of theſe paragraphs in his work are not given as the ſpeeches of violent anti-unioniſts, but are his own reflections upon the events which he has undertaken to record; how far they may be the reflections of one who is a ſincere friend to the meaſure of an Union, and who wiſhed to reconcile others to it, which was "the primary object of his publication", every reader muſt determine for himſelf.

---

* A moſt infamous falſehood, invented to make the meaſure odious: all the Roman Catholic-biſhops, and prieſts of the kingdom, voluntarily ſigned the addreſſes in favour of the Union, and the latter got their flocks to do ſo; ſuch is their influence.

Were

Digitized by Google

Were I to ſit down, and write an hiſtory of the Legiſlative Union between Great-Britain and Ireland, it would be very different from Mr. Plowden's compilation: I ſhould not inſinuate to my reader, that it was carried by fraud, force, and bribery; I ſhould inform him, that ſome of the beſt, wiſeſt, and moſt independent men in Ireland conſcientiouſly ſupported the meaſure; whilſt numbers of the moſt loyal oppoſed it. The ſelection of the beſt ſpeeches on both ſides which I ſhould make, would prove to him, that the anti-unioniſts had the advantage in thoſe arguments which appeal to the paſſions, the unioniſts in thoſe which bring conviction to the underſtanding; I ſhould tell him, that the more the meaſure was coolly conſidered, the more ſupporters it found; that numbers of its loyal opponents, when they perceived all the ſeparatiſts and republicans of that country violent in their oppoſition againſt it, became unioniſts. I ſhould inform him, that by far the greater proportion of the men of property in Ireland were favourers of the meaſure: that falſe ideas of nominal independence, and the empty pride of national conſequence, at length yielded to the influence of cool and deliberate judgement, and to a conviction of the deplorable ſituation to which factions, *patriots*, and rebellion had brought their country: nor would my reſpect for truth have allowed me to inſinuate, that a military guard was poſted near the Houſe of Commons to overawe the Parliament; but I ſhould ſtate the fact, that ſuch was the violence to be apprehended from the mob of Dublin, that the members of that Houſe were obliged to carry piſtols in the noon-day for their protection; and that a guard was indiſpenſably neceſſary to inſure their ſafety, and to enable them to exerciſe their deliberate judgments.

Had I undertaken to give an hiſtory of the Legiſlative Union of the two Kingdoms, I could not have refrained from paying the humble tribute of my applauſe to that great ſtateſman, who planned this admirable meaſure, and had the firmneſs to carry it into execution, at the moſt awful and eventful period of our hiſtory; nor could I have omitted to expreſs my admiration of the talents of the Iriſh Miniſter, who, "though in the May-morn of his youth," carried the meaſure through the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, with that eloquence, temper, and dignity, which have raiſed his character ſo high in the eſtimation of his friends in both kingdoms; and which left his *violent* opponents at a loſs which moſt to admire, the wonderful powers of his mind, or the aſtoniſhing command of his paſſions.

I have now finiſhed the Third and laſt Part of my Strictures

Digitized by Google

tures upon this Hiſtorical Review of the State of Ireland—a work which has given very great offence to the Loyaliſts in that country, and which is unfortunately calculated to do infinite miſchief among *that claſs* of readers in Ireland, to whoſe paſſions it was written, and whoſe political errors and prejudices it may confirm. I have therefore undertaken the neceſſary (but no doubt, to many invidious) taſk of anſwering its ſtatements, noticing its inconſiſtencies and repelling its charges. I have traced the different Iriſh rebellions to what appears to me their principal ſource, RELIGIOUS BIGOTRY—and I have endeavoured to defend the Engliſh Governments in that country from the accuſation of cruelty, impolicy and injuſtice, made againſt them by Mr. Plowden in his work—a work, in my opinion, highly impolitic, irritating, and dangerous. I have only to lament, that its author did not recollect the excellent advice which Mr. Juſtice Blackſtone, in his Commentaries on the Laws of England, gives to writers of a certain deſcription, "let men keep poiſons in their cloſets, but let them not vend them to the public as cordials".

END OF THE STRICTURES.

APPENDIX.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX

TO

PART THE FIRST.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

No. I.

"WERE we to content ourſelves with the aſſertions of the Iriſh hiſtorians drawn from the poetical compoſitions of the Bards, and the plans laid down by their antiquaries, we ſhould be obliged to own that the government of Ireland was in antient times exceedingly well regulated, and the adminiſtration of it carried on with great decency and order; for they ſay, "that the Monarch of Ireland had always in his retinue ten Officers, a Lord, a Judge, a Druid, a Phyſician, a Poet, an Antiquary, a Muſician, and three Stewards of his houſhold, the three firſt to aſſiſt him with their counſel, the three laſt to regulate and conduct the affairs of his family, and the other four to take care of his health and diverſion." They further tell us, "that a triennial parliament was always held at * Tarah, called Feis-Teamrach, or the Convention of Tarah, in which were aſſembled all the nobility, gentry, prieſts, hiſtorians, and men of learning, diſtinguiſhed by their abilities in all arts and profeſſions, wherein they enacted new laws, repealed ſuch as were uſeleſs or burthenſome to the ſubject, and conſulted nothing but the weal-public in all their reſolutions." This is in miniature the picture they draw of the antient government of Ireland.

"But if the complexion of the whole Iriſh hiſtory be conſidered, it will appear probable, that the monarchy, though elective, was *ſeignioral* and *deſpotic*, and the adminiſtration of the government *military* and *violent*; otherwiſe how can it be accounted for, that of 178 monarchs (which they reckon) of the Mileſian colony from Hebor and Heremon to Roderick O'Connor, who was king of Ireland at the time of the Engliſh invaſion, only *forty ſeven* died natural deaths, ſixty were treacherouſly or barbarouſly murdered, and for the moſt part ſucceeded by the aſſaſſins, and ſeventy-one ſlain in battle, as far as can be collected from the relations of thoſe dark ages? To what elſe can this be attributed, but to the extreme looſeneſs and diſorder of the Iriſh government?"

[Harris's edition of Sir J. Ware's Antiquities, chap. 14, page 88.]

* We are alſo told by the Iriſh annaliſts, that at Tarah was the ſplendid palace of the monarchs of Ireland. There is not the veſtige of any building remaining at that place in Ireland, not even a ſingle ſtone. A ſtrong confirmation of Sir J. Ware's and Sir J. Davis's aſſertion, that no ſtone buildings were erected by the Iriſh until long after Henry the Second's invaſion. Dublin and ſome other towns on the eaſt coaſt of that kingdom, having been built by the Oſt-men, Eaſterlings or Danes. When Henry the Second came to Dublin, he was lodged in a palace or apartment built of wicker-work and wattles, erected not very far from where the college of Dublin now ſtands.

See Harris's edit. of Ware, p. 182.

Digitized by Google

No. II.

"For if we consider the nature of the *Irish* customs, we shall find that the people which doth use them must of necessity be rebels to all good government, destroy the commonwealth wherein they live, and bring barbarism and desolation upon the richest and most fruitful land of the world. For, whereas by the just and honourable law of England, and by the laws of all other well-governed kingdoms and commonwealths, murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, and theft are punished with death: by this *Irish custom* or *Brehon* law the highest of these offences was punished only by fine, which they called an *eriche*; therefore when sir William Fitzwilliams (being lord-deputy) told Maguire, that he was to send a sheriff into Fermanagh, being lately before made a county; your sheriff, said Maguire, shall be welcome to me, but let me know his *eriche*, or the *price of his head* before hand, that if my people cut it off, I may put the *eriche* upon the county. As for oppression, extortion and other trespasses, the weaker had never any remedy against the stronger: whereby it came to pass, that no man could enjoy his life, his *wife*, his lands or goods in safety, if a mightier man than himself had an appetite to take the same from him: wherein they were little better than *canibals*, who do hunt one another, and he that hath most strength and swiftness doth eat and devour all his fellows.

"Again, in England, and all well-ordered commonwealths, men have certain estates in their lands and possessions, and their inheritances descend from father to son, which doth give them encouragement to build, and to plant and to improve their lands, and to make them better for their posterities. But by the *Irish custom* of Tanistry, the chieftains of every country, and chief of every sept, had no longer estate than for life in their chieferies: the inheritance whereof did rest in no man: and these chieferies, though they had some portions of land allotted unto them, did consist chiefly in *cuttings* and *cosheries*, and other *Irish* exactions, whereby they did spoil and impoverish the people at their pleasure. And when their chieftains were dead, their sons or next heirs did not succeed them, but their *tanistes*, who were elective, and purchased their elections by strong hand, and by the *Irish custom* of *gavel kind*, the inferior tenantries were partible amongst all the males of the sept, both bastards and legitimates; and after partition made, if any one of the sept had died, his portion was not divided among his sons; but the chief of the sept made a new partition of all the lands, belonging to that sept, and gave every one his part according to his antiquity, (age.)

"These two *Irish* customs made all their possessions uncertain; being shuffled and changed and removed so often from one to another, by new elections and partitions; which uncertainty of estates hath been the true cause of such desolation and barbarism in this land. As the like was never seen in any country that professed the name of Christ. For though the *Irishry* be a nation of great antiquity *, and wanted neither wit

* Here I have differed from Sir J. Davis, who was probably imposed upon by the popular legends of that country: I have given the authorities and arguments

Digitized by Google

wit or valour, and though they had received the Chriſtian faith above 1200 years ſince, and were lovers of muſick, poetry, and all kinds of learning, and poſſeſſed a land abounding with all things neceſſary for the civil life of man; yet (which is ſtrange to be related) they never did build any houſes of brick or ſtone (ſome few poor religious houſes excepted) before the reign of Henry the Second, though they were lords of this iſland for many hundred years before, and ſince the Conqueſt attempted by the Engliſh: albeit, when they find us to build caſtles upon their borders, they have only, in imitation of us, erected ſome few piles for the captains of the country. Yet I dare boldly ſay, that never any particular perſon, either before or ſince, did build any ſtone or brick houſe for his private habitation; but ſuch as have lately obtained eſtates, according to the law of England. Neither did any of them, in all this time, plant any gardens or orchards, incloſe or improve their lands, live together in ſettled villages or towns, nor made any proviſion for poſterity, which being againſt all common ſenſe and reaſon, muſt needs be imputed to thoſe unſeaſonable cuſtoms which made their eſtate ſo uncertain and tranſitory in their poſſeſſions.

"For who would plant or improve, or build upon that land, which a ſtranger, whom he knew not, ſhould poſſeſs after his death? For that (as Solomon noteth) is one of the ſtrangeſt vanities under the ſun: and this is the true reaſon why Ulſter (the north), and all the *Iriſh* counties are found ſo waſte and deſolate at this day (reign of James the Firſt), and ſo would they continue to the world's end, if theſe cuſtoms were not aboliſhed by the law of England.

"Again, that Iriſh cuſtom of *gavel-kind* did breed another miſchief, for thereby every man being born to land, as well baſtard as legitimate, they all hold themſelves to be gentlemen: and though their portions were never ſo ſmall, and themſelves never ſo poor, *(for gavel-kind muſt needs in the end make a poor gentility)*, they did ſcorn to deſcend to huſbandry or merchandize, or to learn any mechanical art or ſcience: and this is the true cauſe why there were never any corporate towns erected in the *Iriſh* counties. As for maritime cities and towns, moſt certain it is, that they were built and peopled by the Oaſtmen or Eaſterlings, for the natives of Ireland never performed ſo good a work as to build a city.—Beſides, theſe poor gentlemen were ſo affected unto their ſmall portions of land, as they rather choſe to live at home by theft, extortion, and *coſhiering*, than to ſeek any better fortune abroad; which encreaſed theſe ſepts or *ſirnames* into ſuch numbers, as there are not to be found in any kingdom of Europe ſo many gentlemen of one blood, family and ſirnames, as there are of the *O'Neals* in *Ulſter*, of the *Bourkes* in *Connaught*, of the *Giraldines* and *Butlers* in *Munſter* and *Leinſter*: and the like may be ſaid of the inferior bloods and families, whereby it came to paſs in times of trouble and diſſention, that they made great parties and factions, adhering one to another with much conſtancy, becauſe they were tied together *vinculo ſanguinis*, whereas rebels and

---

ments which ſtrike my mind as ſatisfactory to prove that they were converted to Chriſtianity by the Engliſh; and that they were not a nation of ſuch antiquity as their writers pretend.

malefactors,

Digitized by Google

malefactors, which are tied to their leaders by no band, either of duty or blood, do more eaſily break and fall off one from another. And beſides their co-habitation in one country or territory, gave them opportunity ſuddenly to aſſemble and conſpire, and riſe in multitudes againſt the crown. And even now in times of peace, we find this *inconvenience* that there can be hardly an indifferent trial had between the king and his ſubjects, or between party and party, by reaſon of this general kindred and conſanguinity.

" But the moſt wicked and miſchievous cuſtom of all others, was that of *coigne* and *livery*, often before-mentioned, which conſiſted in taking of *man's-meat*, *horſe-meat*, and *money* of all the inhabitants of the country, at the will and pleaſure of the ſoldier, who as the phraſe of Scripture is, *did eat up the people as it were bread*, for that he had no other entertainment. This extortion was originally *Iriſh*, for they uſed to lay *bonaght* upon their people, and never gave their ſoldiers any other pay, &c. &c. &c.

" This extortion of coigne and livery was taken for the maintenance of their men of war. But their *Iriſh* exactions extorted by their *chieftains* and *taniſts*, by colour of their barbarous ſeignory, were almoſt as grievous a burthen as the other; namely *Cuſherings*, which were viſitations and progreſſes made by the lord and his followers, among his tenants. Wherein he did eat them (as the Engliſh proverb is) *out of houſe and home*. *Seſſings* of the *kern* of his family, called *kernity*, of his horſes and horſeboys, of his dogs and dog-boys and the like. And laſtly *cuttings*, *tallages*, and *ſpendings*, high or low at his pleaſure; all which made the lord an abſolute tyrant, and the tenant a very ſlave and villain, and in one reſpect more miſerable than bond-ſlaves; *for commonly the bond-ſlave is fed by his lord, but here the lord was fed by his bond-ſlave*.

" Laſtly there were two other cuſtoms proper and peculiar to the *Iriſhry*; which being the cauſe of many ſtrong combinations and factions, do tend to the utter ruin of a commonwealth. The one was *foſtering*, and the other *goſſipred*, both which have ever been of greater eſtimation among this people than with any other nation in the *Chriſtian* world. For *foſtering*, I did never hear or read, that it was in that uſe or reputation in any other country, barbarous or civil, as it has been, and yet is, in Ireland; where they put away all their children to foſterers: the potent and rich man *ſelling*, the meaner ſort buying the alterage of their children; and the reaſon is, becauſe in the opinion of this people, *foſtering* had always been a ſtronger alliance than *blood*, and the foſter-children do love, and are beloved of their foſter-fathers, and their ſept more than of their own natural parents and kindred; and do participate of their means more frankly, and do adhere unto them in all fortunes with more affection and conſtancy, &c. &c. &c.

" Now theſe two cuſtoms which of themſelves are indifferent in other kingdoms, became exceeding evil and full of miſchief in this realm, by reaſon of the inconveniences which followed thereupon; for they made (as I before ſaid) ſtrong parties and factions, whereby the great men were enabled to oppreſs their inferiors, and to oppoſe their equals; and their followers were born out and countenanced in all their lewd and wicked

Digitized by Google

wicked actions: for fosterers and gossips, by the common custom of Ireland, were to maintain one another in all causes, lawful and *unlawful*, which, as it is a combination and confederacy punishable in all well-governed commonwealths, so was it not one of the least causes of the common misery of this kingdom. I omit their common repudiation of their wives, their promiscuous generation of children, their neglect of lawful matrimony, their uncleanness in apparel, diet, and lodging, and their contempt and scorn of all things necessary for the civil life of man.

"These are the *Irish customs*, which the English colonies did embrace and use, after they had rejected the civil and honourable laws and customs of England, whereby they became degenerate and metamorphosed like Nebuchadnezzar; who, although he had the face of a man, had the heart of a beast, or like those who had drunk of *Circe's* cup, and were turned into beasts, and yet took such pleasure in their beastly manner of life, as they would not return to their shape of men again: insomuch that within less than the age of a man, they had no marks or differences left amongst them of that noble nation, from which they were descended. For, as they did not only forget the *English* language, and scorn the use thereof, but grew to be ashamed of their very *English* names, though they were noble, and of great antiquity, and took Irish surnames and nicknames; namely, the two most potent families of the *Bourkes* in Connaught (after the house of the red earl failed of heirs male) called their chiefs, *Mac William Eighter*, and *Mac William Oughter*. In the same province, Birmingham, Baron of *Athenrinea* called himself *Mac Yoris*," &c. &c. &c.

[Historical Relations; or, A Discovery of the true Causes why Ireland was never subdued: written by Sir J. Davis, Attorney-General of Ireland in the reign of James the First.]

No. III.

IRISH CUSTOMS, TANISTRY, GAVELKIND, &c.

"AN ACCOUNT OF THE IRISH CUSTOMS, TANISTRY, GAVELKIND, BREHON LAW, &c. NECESSARY FOR THE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OUR AUTHOR'S (MORYSON) JOURNAL OR HISTORY OF THE REBELLION OF HUGH, EARL OF TYRONE.

"The lands of the Irish were divided into several territories, and the inhabitants in every Irish country were divided into several septs or liniages. In every Irish country there was a lord or chieftain, and a tanist, which was his successor apparent. None could be chosen tanist, but one issued out of one of the chief septs. The seignory and lands belonging to the chief lord, did not descend from father to son, or upon default of issue to him that was next of kin; but he that was most active, of greatest power, and had most followers, always caused himself to be chosen tanist, and if he could not compass his desires by gentle means, then he used open force and violence; and so being declared as it

Digitized by Google

it were heir-apparent, came into poſſeſſion upon the death of the chief lord. Now for the inferior ſepts—they held their lands at the will of the chief lord after a ſort: for after the death of every one of his tenants which held any land under him, he aſſembled the whole ſept, and having put all their poſſeſſions together in hotch potch, he made a new partition among them, not aſſigning to the ſon of him who died the land held by his father, but altering every man's poſſeſſion at his own pleaſure, and according to his own diſcretion, he upon the death of every inferior tenant made a general remove, and ſo allotted to every male of the ſept, both baſtards and legitimate, ſuch part of the land as he thought fit, but the heirs female were utterly excluded.

"The Iriſh chieftain was always diſtinguiſhed from all others of his ſept or name, by being called abſolutely, and by way of excellence, O'or Mac, as o'Donell, Mac-Guire, &c.; to prefix his chriſtian name to it would be a high crime and diſreſpect. The deſcendants from any of the chieftains took great care to trace themſelves up to the chieftain from whom they derived their origin. Thus Hugh Mac Rory, Mac Shane, Mac Con, Mac Guire, that is, Hugh the ſon of Roger, the ſon of John, the ſon of Con Mac Guire. Sometimes, for the greater diſtinction of perſons, they added to their chriſtian name a nickname, as Phelime Roe Macart, Mac Hugh, Mac Owen, o'Neal; that is, Red Phelim, the ſon of Arthur, the ſon of Hugh, the ſon of Owen o'Neal.

"Every chieftain had his judge who was called the Lords Brehon. The Iriſh had no written law, and what was called the Brehon Law was a rule of right delivered by tradition from one to another; murder, manſlaughter, rape, robbery and theft by the Brehon Law were puniſhed only by mulct or fine; as for example, in the caſe of murder, the judge would compound between the murderer and the friends of the party murdered, which proſecute the action, that the malefactor ſhould give unto them, or to the child or wife of him that is ſlain, a recompence which they call an eriach or erick, and this judge or the Lords Brehon, adjudged for the moſt part a better ſhare unto the chieftain of the ſept, or lord of the ſoil, and alſo unto himſelf for his judgment a greater portion than unto the plaintiffs or parties aggrieved; as for oppreſſion, extortion and other treſpaſſes, the weaker had never any remedy againſt the ſtronger, whereby it came to paſs (as ſir J. Davis noticeth) that no man could enjoy his life, his wife, his lands or goods in ſafety, if a mightier man than himſelf had an appetite to take the ſame from him.

"The Iriſh gave their ſoldiers no pay, they quartered them upon the inhabitants, from whom the ſoldier from his hoſt extorted man's-meat, horſe-meat, and money at his will and pleaſure. This cuſtom was called Coigne and Livery; it prevailed only in time of war; but in what period of time or æra did Ireland enjoy the bleſſings of peace?

"Before the conqueſt of Ireland by King Henry the Second, the Iriſh hiſtorians themſelves evince that their country was, during the ſpace of 732 years, an Acheldama, or mere field of blood; they count 148 chieftains who they dignify with the title of Monarchs of all Ireland, which ſucceeded one the other from Leogariusdown to Roderick O'Connor; of theſe Iriſh heroes only 20 died a natural death. After their

ſubmiſſion

Digitized by Google

ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh they made war and peace one with another, and frequently rebelled againſt the Kings of England, ſurpriſed and deſtroyed the caſtles of the Engliſh colonies, which they rooted out in many parts of the kingdoms with fire and ſword.

"To oppoſe the Engliſh or make war upon a neighbouring ſept, an Iriſh chieftain would hire ſoldiers from ſome other chieftain who was not engaged in war, they called theſe hirelings *Bonnaghts*, who beſides being maintained and lodged by the poor inhabitants upon whom they were quartered, a tax or ceſs was levied upon the inhabitants, to pay the ſtipulated ſum agreed to the chieftain who ſent the officers who commanded theſe auxiliary foot ſoldiers. This ceſs was called *Bonnaght*, the Iriſh foot ſoldiers called Gallowglaſſes, I take to be originally Scots hired in the weſtern iſlands of Scotland, that came into Ireland to aſſiſt ſome of the Iriſh chiefs, againſt their neighbours in their domeſtic feuds or quarrels, and remaining in Ireland had ſome portions of land allotted to them in divers parts of the country, where loſing their name of Scots, they retained the name of Gallowgaſs, which Spencer (a View of the State of Ireland) ſays is derived from Galloglа, an old Engliſh word, ſignifying a ſervitor or yeoman. M. Martin, in his diſſertation of the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland, printed 1703, p. 104, tells us that every chieftain in the Iſlands, had a bold-armour-bearer, whoſe buſineſs was always to attend his maſter night and day to prevent any ſurprize, and this man was called Galloglach, he had a double portion of meat aſſigned him at every meal, the meaſure of meat uſually given him is called to this day Bieyfit, that is, a man's portion, meaning thereby an extra-ordinary man, whoſe ſtrength and courage diſtinguiſhed him from the common ſort.

"The Kern was the genuine or proper Iriſh ſoldier, each Iriſh chieftain had a number of them about him, to execute his commands; they were billeted or quartered upon his tenants and other inhabitants of his country, and frequently robbed and murdered their neighbours and ſtrangers that they met, travelling through their lord's territory: the ceſs or impoſition laid upon the people in quartering and feeding theſe hell-hounds, was called Kernetty.

"Our author (Moryſon) has given us a deſcription of Ireland in his work, Part III. Book iii. Chap. v. p. 156, in it he treats of the diet, habitations, houſehold furniture, cothering and traffic of the inhabitants; and Part Third, Book 4, Chap. ii, p. 180, he particularly deſcribes the apparel of the natives, *but he is ſilent in regard of the learning* for which they were famous, *if we will credit their own writers and others who blindly follow them*; after conſidering the government, laws, cuſtoms, and manners of the Iriſh, I who am a native of the country will never believe that Iriſhmen or any other people under ſuch barbarian government, laws, &c. could ever be or ever were a learned nation."

[Manuſcript notes to an edition of Moryſon's Itinerary, made by Dr. Abraham Lionel Jenkins, an eminent Phyſician in the city of Dublin, in 1755, eminent not ſo much for his practice as for his extenſive knowledge of Iriſh hiſtory and antiquities. He aſſiſted Harris much in his Hiſtory of the County of Down in Ireland.]

Of Sir John Davis who in 1612, publiſhed his work, a Diſcovery of the true Cauſes why Ireland was never ſubdued, &c. "and who ſpeaks much of the love the Iriſh had for equal and impartial juſtice,"

Moryſon

Digitized by Google

Moryſon obſerves "and howſoever the Engliſh lawyers comming over after the laſt warre (with O'Neal, Earl of Tyrone) vaunted Ireland to be reduced to ful obedience by their itinerary circuits (*ſcarce mentioning with honor the ſword that made way to them*) yet they were therein deceived, that the Iriſh in their clamarous and litigious nature, flying to them with many complaints did it only to get countenance to their cauſes from them, who were ſtrangers to them (perhaps againſt former judgments of the Governors, who better knew them, and ſo to oppoſe one magiſtrate againſt another) not (as they might perhaps thinke) in ſincere affection to be ruled by the laws; yea, thoſe chiefs of countries who uſed to wait on them to the limits of their country, did it rather to keepe the people by their awful preſence from exhibiting complaints againſt themſelves, than (as the Judges thought) out of their dutiful reſpect to them or to the State."

[Moryſon, p. 300, Part Second, Ireland, A.D. 1613.]

No. IV.

"It is certain many rolls and records in divers ages have been loſt either by the diſtractions or confuſions of the times, by fire, by the giddineſs, ſhameful negligence, and ſometimes the villany of officers, who had the keeping of them, inſomuch that from the arrival of King Henry II. in Ireland, anno 1172, to the third of Edward II. anno 1310, being a period of 138 years, and from the third of Edward II. to the ſeventh of Henry VI. anno 1428, taking up the ſpace of 118 years, there are no Parliament Rolls to be found, except one in the fifth of Henry VI. which contains only a judgment in a writ of error, brought by the Prior of Molingar, againſt the Prior of Lhanthony. And yet it is indiſputable, that many Parliaments were held in Ireland, during thoſe times of which our hiſtories mention above forty. Anno 1404, moſt of the Parliament rolls were deſtroyed by the accidental burning of St. Mary's Abbey, which was the repoſitory of them in that age, inſomuch, that of all the antecedent rolls only two eſcaped the flames. After this period, during the reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Richard III. many acts are in the rolls which recite other acts, of which mentioned acts great numbers have not now exiſtence. The ſame thing may be ſaid of ſome ſtatutes in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. from which time the rolls have been preſerved with greater care."*

"By the Iriſh Statute of 18 Henry VI. chap. i. all Engliſh Statutes enacted againſt the extortions of purveyors are made of force in Ireland. By the Iriſh ſtatute 32 Henry VI. chap. i. all ſtatutes made before that

* There are rolls preſerved in Birmingham tower in the Caſtle of Dublin, I imagine of no great importance. Swift in one of his letters ſays, "that he hears Mr. Addiſon has got two hundred a year as Keeper of the Records in Birmingham Tower, though he is well aſſured all the parchments in it are not worth half-a-crown.

time

Digitized by Google

time in England or Ireland againſt proviſors, were enacted to be revived and of force in Ireland; and the like ſtatute is again enacted 10 Henry VII. chap. 5. By the Iriſh ſtatute of 8 Edward IV. chap. 1, the Engliſh ſtatute concerning rapes, made in the 6th of Richard II. is made of force in Ireland; and further, that all ſtatutes made by authority of the Parliament of England before that time be confirmed and adjudged of force in Ireland; that ſtatute of abſentees, made in England, anno 3, Richard II. and acknowledged in Ireland, was, by the Iriſh ſtatute of 19 Edward IV. authorized and confirmed. And by the Iriſh ſtatute, 10 Henry VII. chap. 22, all ſtatutes late (that is, before the time, as the lawyers explain it) made in England, concerning the common and public weal of the ſame, were enacted, from that time, to be good and effectual in Ireland, and to be uſed and executed within the ſaid land of Ireland, in all points, and at all times requiſite, according to the tenor and effect of the ſame; and that all laws hereafter made to the contrary, ſhould be null and void."

[Harris, chap. 13.]

No. V.

Sir John Davis, ſpeaking of the admirable laws made for the reformation of the ſtate of Ireland during the government of that moſt able Deputy Sir Edward Poynings (reign of Henry VII.) obſerves:

"Theſe laws, and others as important as theſe, for the making of a commonwealth in Ireland, were made in the government of Sir Edward Poynings; but theſe laws did not ſpread their virtue beyond the Engliſh pale, *though they were made generally for the whole kingdom:* for the provinces without the pale, which, during the war of York and Lancaſter, had wholly caſt off the Engliſh Government, were not apt to receive this ſeed of reformation, becauſe they were not firſt broken, and mattered again with the ſword. Beſides, the Iriſh countries, which contained two third parts of the kingdom, were not reduced to ſhire-ground, ſo as in them the laws of England could not *poſſibly be put in execution.* Therefore theſe good laws and proviſions, made by Sir Edward Poynings, were like good leſſons ſet for a lute that is broken and out of tune; of which leſſons, little uſe can be made till the lute be made fit to be played upon."

And we learn alſo, from Sir J. Davis, that, in the the reign of Henry VIII. the King's laws were not obeyed twenty miles in compaſs; and that it was a boaſt among the Iriſh, "that they dwelt byweſt the law, which dwelt beyond the river of the Barrow", which is within thirty miles of Dublin. This fact is confirmed by Baron Finglas, in his diſcourſe of the decay of Ireland, written in the 20th year of Henry VIII.

How abſurd then is Mr. Plowden's aſſertion, that the Engliſh Government purſued "the noxious policy of keeping the natives a ſeparate and divided people from the coloniſts, or inhabitants of the pale". Quære, at this day, could the laws of England be enforced in Ireland without the aſſiſtance of the ſoldiery?

No. VI.

Digitized by Google

No. VI.

"This Parliament (28th year of Henry VIII.) being ended, the Lord Leonard Grey was ſuddenly revoked, and put to death in England; ſo as he lived not to finiſh the work of reformation, which he had begun; which notwithſtanding was well purſued by his ſucceſſor, Sir Anthony Saint Leger, unto whom all the Lords and Chieftains of the *Iriſhry*, and of the degenerate *Engliſh*, throughout the kingdom, made their ſeveral ſubmiſſions by indenture (which was the fourth general ſubmiſſion of the Iriſh, made ſince the firſt attempt of the conqueſt of Ireland) whereof the firſt was made to King Henry II. the ſecond to King John, the third to King Richard II. and the laſt to Sir Anthony Saint Leger, in 33 Henry VIII.

"In theſe indentures of ſubmiſſion, all the *Iriſh* Lords do acknowledge King Henry VIII. to be their Sovereign Lord and King, and deſire to be accepted of him as ſubjects. They confeſs the King's ſupremacy in all cauſes, and do utterly renounce the Pope's juriſdiction, which I conceive to be worth the noting; becauſe, *when the Iriſh had once reſolved to obey the King, they made no ſcruple to renounce the Pope:* and this was not only done by the mere *Iriſh*, but the chief of the degenerate *Engliſh families* did perform the ſame, as *Deſmond*, *Barry*, and *Roche*, in *Munſter*, and the *Bourks*, which bore the title of *Mac William*, in *Connaught*."

[Sir John Davis's Hiſtorical Relations, p. 104 of a Dublin edition, by S. Hyde, MDCC XXXIII.]

Extract from Robertson's History of America.

"The prudent endeavours of Ovando, to promote the welfare of the colony, were powerfully ſeconded by Ferdinand. The large remittances which he received from the new world opened his eyes at length, with reſpect to the importance of thoſe diſcoveries, which he had hitherto affected to undervalue; fortune, and his own addreſs, having now extricated him out of thoſe difficulties in which he had been involved, &c. &c. and he had full leiſure to turn his attention to the affairs of America. To his provident ſagacity Spain is indebted for many of thoſe regulations which gradually formed that ſyſtem of profound but jealous policy by which ſhe governed her dominions in the new world. He erected a Court, diſtinguiſhed by the title of the *Caſa de Contratacion*, or Board of Trade, compoſed of perſons eminent for rank and abilities, to whom he committed the adminiſtration of American affairs. This Board aſſembled regularly in Seville, and was inveſted with a diſtinct and extenſive juriſdiction. He gave a regular form to eccleſiaſtical government in America, by nominating Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, *together with clergymen of ſubordinate ranks*, to take charge of the Spaniards eſtabliſhed there, as well as of the

Digitized by Google

the natives, who ſhould embrace the Chriſtian faith; but notwithſtanding the obſequious devotion of the Spaniſh Court to the Papal See, ſuch was Ferdinand's ſolicitude to *prevent any foreign power from claiming juriſdiction or acquiring influence* in his new dominions, that he reſerved to the Crown of Spain the ſole right of patronage to the benefices in America, and ſtipulated that no papal bull or mandate ſhould be promulgated there, until it was previouſly examined and approved by his council."

[Vol. i. Book 3. Article, Political Regulations of Ferdinand.]

No. VII.

"Right Honourable ——— My duty premiſed, it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to be advertiſed, ſithence my laſt there has come to Ardmagh, and his Clergy a private commiſſion from the Biſhop of Rome, prohibiting his gracious Highneſs's people here in this nation to own his Royal Supremacy; and joining a curſe to all them and theirs who ſhall not within forty days, confeſs to their confeſſors (after the publiſhing it to them) that they have done amiſs in ſo doing; the ſubſtance, as our Secretary hath tranſlated the ſame into Engliſh, is thus:

"I A. B. from the preſent hour forward, in the preſence of the Holy Trinity of the bleſſed Virgin mother of God, of Saint Peter, of the Holy Apoſtles, Archangels, Angels, Saints, and of all the holy hoſt of Heaven, ſhall and will be always obedient to the Holy See of St. Peter at Rome, and his ſucceſſors, in all things, as well ſpiritual as temporal, not conſenting in the leaſt that his Holineſs ſhall loſe the leaſt title or dignity belonging to the Papacy of our Mother Church of Rome, or to the Regality of St. Peter.

"I do vow and ſwear to maintain, help and aſſiſt the juſt laws, liberties, and rights of the Mother Church of Rome.

"I do likewiſe promiſe to confer, defend, and promote, if not perſonally, yet willingly, as in ability able, either by advice, ſkill, eſtate, money, or otherwiſe, the Church of Rome, and her laws, againſt all whatſoever reſiſting the ſame.

"I further vow to oppugn all Hereticks, either in making or ſetting forth edicts or commands contrary to the Mother Church of Rome, and in caſe any ſuch be moved or compoſed, to reſiſt it to the uttermoſt of my power, with the firſt convenience and opportunity I can poſſible.

"I count and value all Acts made or to be made by heretical powers of no force or worth, or to be practiſed or obeyed by myſelf, or by any other ſon of the Mother Church of Rome.

"I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or ſiſter, ſon or daughter, uncle or aunt, nephew or neece, kinſman, or kinſwoman, maſter or miſtreſs, and all others, neareſt or deareſt relations, friends

Digitized by Google

friends or acquaintance whatſoever accurſed, that either do or ſhall hold for the time to come any eccleſiaſtical or civil authority, above the authority of the Mother Church, or that do or ſhall obey, for the time to come any of her, the Mother Churches oppoſers or enemies, or contrary to the ſame, of which I have here ſworn unto. So God, the bleſſed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy Evangeliſts help, &c."

"His Highneſs's Viceroy of this nation is of little or no power with the old natives, therefore your Lordſhip will expect of me no more than I am able. This nation is poor in wealth, and not ſufficient now at preſent to oppoſe them. It is obſerved, that ever ſince his Highneſs's anceſtors had this nation in poſſeſſion, the old natives have been craving foreign powers to aſſiſt and rule them: and now both Engliſh race and Iriſh begin to oppoſe your Lordſhip's orders, and do lay aſide their national old quarrels, which I fear, if any thing will cauſe a foreigner to invade this nation, that will. I pray God I may be a falſe prophet, yet your good Lordſhip muſt pardon mine opinion, for I write it to your Lordſhip as a warning.

Your humble and true ſervant,
GEORGE BROWNE."

Dublin, May, 1538.
To the Lord Privy Seal, with ſpeed.

[Ware's Antiquities, p. 152.]

No. VIII.

LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP BROWNE TO SIR THOMAS CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL TO HENRY VIII.

"My moſt honoured Lord,

"Your very humble ſervant receiving your mandate as one of his Highneſs's Commiſſioners, hath endeavoured almoſt to the danger of this temporal life to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience, in owning of his Highneſs their ſupreme head as well ſpiritual as temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, eſpecially by my brother Ardmagh, who hath been the main oppugner; and ſo hath withdrawn moſt of his ſuffragans and clergy within his ſee and juriſdiction; he made a ſpeech to them, laying a curſe on the people, whoſoever ſhould own his Highneſs's Supremacy; ſaying, that this iſle, as it is in their Iriſh Chronicles, INSULA SACRA, belongs to none but to the Biſhop of Rome; and that it was the Biſhop of Rome's predeceſſors gave it to the King's anceſtors. There be two meſſengers by the prieſts of Ardmagh, and by that Archbiſhop now lately ſent to the Biſhop of Rome. Your Lordſhip may inform his Highneſs that it is convenient to call a Parliament in this nation to paſs the Supremacy by Act; for they do not much matter his Highneſs's

Digitized by Google

Highneſs's commiſſion which your Lordſhip ſent us over.—This iſland hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romiſh orders, and as for their ſecular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to ſay Maſs, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themſelves ſay in the Roman tongue. The common people of this iſle are more zealous in their blindneſs, than the Saints and Martyrs were in the truth at the beginning of the goſpel.—I ſend to you my very good Lord theſe things, that your Lordſhip and his Highneſs may conſult what is to be done. It is feared O'Neale will be ordered by the biſhop of Rome to oppoſe your Lordſhip's order from the King's Highneſs—for the natives are much in numbers within his powers. I do pray the Lord Chriſt to defend your lordſhip from your enemies.—Dublin, 4 Kalend. Septembris 1535.

GEORGE BROWNE."

"The year following a Parliament was called in Ireland—the Lord Leonard Grey, being then King Henry's Viceroy of that nation, in which George Browne, then not being many months above a year in his archiepiſcopal chair in Dublin, ſtood up and made this ſhort ſpeech following:

"My Lords and Gentry of this his Majeſty's realm of Ireland—

"Behold, your obedience to your King is the obſerving of your God and Saviour Chriſt—for he, that high prieſt of our ſouls paid tribute to Cæſar (though no Chriſtian) greater honour than is ſurely due to your Prince, his Highneſs the King, and a Chriſtian one.—Rome and her biſhops in the fathers days acknowledged Emperors, Kings and Princes to be ſupream over their dominions, nay Chriſt's own vicars, and it is much to the biſhop of Rome's ſhame, to deny what their precedent biſhops owned—therefore his Highneſs claims but what he can juſtify. The biſhop Elutherius gave to St. Lucius the firſt Chriſtian King of the Britains, ſo ſhall I without ſcrupling, vote his Highneſs King Henry, my ſupreme over eccleſiaſtical matters as well as temporal, and head thereof, even of both iſles England and Ireland, and that without guilt of conſcience or ſin to God, and he who will not paſs this act as I do, is no true ſubject to his Highneſs."

"This ſpeech of George Browne's ſtartled the other biſhops and lords ſo, that at laſt, through great difficulty it paſſed, upon which ſpeech juſtice Brabazon ſeconded him, as appears by his letter to the lord Thomas Cromwell, then Lord Privy Seal of England, which original is in that famous library of Sir Robert Cotton, out of which Sir James Ware, that learned antiquary, tranſcribed the ſame.

[Life and Death of George Browne, in Ware's Antiquities.]

No. IX.

"Queen Mary toward the end of her reign this year (1558) granted a commiſſion for to call the Proteſtants in queſtion here in Ireland, as well as they had done in England, and to execute the ſame with greater force—ſhe nominated Doctor Cole, ſometime Dean of St. Paul's in London, one of the Commiſſioners, and ſo ſent the commiſſion

Digitized by Google

miſſion by this ſame doctor, and in his journey coming to Cheſter, the Mayor of that city, hearing that her Majeſty was ſending Commiſſioners into Ireland, and he being a Churchman, waited on the doctor, who, in his diſcourſe with the mayor, took out of his cloak-bag a leather-box, and ſaid unto him "here is a commiſſion that ſhall laſh the Hereticks of Ireland," calling the Proteſtants by that title. The good woman of the Houſe being well affected to the Proteſtants, and to that religion, and alſo having a brother named John Edmonds, a Proteſtant and a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled by the doctor's words, but ſhe watching her convenient time, whilſt the Mayor took his leave of the doctor, and the doctor complimenting him down to the ſtairs, ſhe opened the box and took the commiſſion out, and placed in lieu thereof a pack of cards with the knave of clubs faced uppermoſt, and wrapt them up: The doctor coming to his chamber, ſuſpecting nothing of what had been done, put up his box as formerly—the next day going to the water-ſide, wind and weather favouring him, he ſailed towards Ireland, and landed on the 17th October 1558, at Dublin, then coming to the Caſtle, the Lord Fitzwalters being at this time Lord Deputy, ſent for the doctor to come before him, and the Privy Council, who coming in after he had made a ſpeech relating upon what account he came over, preſented the box to the Lord Deputy, who cauſing it to be opened, that the Secretary might read the commiſſion, there appeared nothing ſave a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermoſt, which not only ſtartled the Lord Deputy and Council, but the doctor, who aſſured them he had a commiſſion, but knew not how it was gone. Then the Lord Deputy made anſwer: "Let us have another commiſſion, and we will ſhuffle the cards in the mean time." The doctor being troubled in his mind, went away and returned into England, and coming to Court obtained another commiſſion; but ſtaying for a wind at the water-ſide, news came to him that the Queen was dead. Thus, God preſerved the Proteſtants of Ireland from the perſecution intended.—This being a copy of Richard Earl of Corke's memorials—as alſo of Henry Uſher, ſometimes Lord Primate of Ardmagh, being alſo entered amongſt Sir James Ware's manuſcripts, who had often heard the late James Uſher, nephew to the ſaid Henry, averr the ſame, and wondred that Mr. Fox had not inſerted it in his *Acts and Monuments*—there was lately living a reverend father of the church, *viz.* Henry, late Lord Biſhop of Meath, who did affirm, that he had this relation from the ſaid James Uſher, late Lord Primate of all Ireland.

"Upon the recalling the Lord Fitzwalters into England, Queen Elizabeth, by the grace of God, &c. ſucceeding, diſcourſing with the ſaid Lord concerning ſeveral paſſages here in Ireland, amongſt other diſcourſes, he related the aforeſaid paſſage that happened in Ireland, which ſo delighted the Queen, that her Majeſty ſent for the good woman, named Elizabeth Edmonds, by her huſband named Matterſhed, and gave her a penſion of forty pounds per ann. *durante vita*, for ſaving her Proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland."

[Ware's Antiquities, p. 164.—Life of George Browne.]

Such is the authority upon which this extraordinary ſtory reſts.

APPENDIX

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX

TO

PART THE SECOND.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

No. I.

"ONE would have thought that this lenity and these graces were proper means to oblige the *Irish* to gratitude and obedience: but did this happen? No, certainly—concessions and favours always induced those people to think the Government weak, and therefore never failed to put them into action, that is into Rebellion. In 1607, was discovered another conspiracy, formed by the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Maguire, O'Cahan, and almost all the Irish of *Ulster*, to surprize the Castle of Dublin, murder the active officers of State, secure the principal garrisons, and call in foreign aid; and the cities and great towns in the West and South were prepared to join in an universal rebellion; but too early a discovery put an end to this confederacy, and the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Maguire and others of the principal complotters fled beyond seas, from whence the year following, they incited Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, with assurances of *Spanish* aid, to fly out into actual rebellion. In the beginning of April he got possession of *Culmore* fort, by treacherously seizing the Governor and his wife, whom under a shew of friendship he had invited to dinner, and the same night about cock-crow, he surprized Derry, murdered the Governor, Sir George Paulet, and the garrison and all the Protestants who fell into his hands, except the Bishop's wife, whom he reserved as an hostage in case of any emergency, and then plundered and set fire to the town, and in sight of his army committed 2000 heretical books to the flames, belonging to the Ministers of Derry, for the redemption of which he refused 200l. which the Bishop, who had arrived to ransom his wife offered for their preservation.—He drew in most of the *Irish* in that and the neighbouring counties, resolving to maintain the war till the two Earls and the other exiles should arrive with aids from foreign Princes; but a random shot put an end to his life and thereby to the rebellion."

"This account is faithfully extracted from Philip O'Sullivan, the writer of the Catholic History, p. 210, &c. and the rebellion was fomented by the Priests, who affirmed, *that all were martyrs who died in that service;* some of the rebels were taken and executed, who the same author says, died martyrs for not swearing to the King's supremacy, and yet he confessed that they were involved in

Digitized by Google

the rebellion—such are the cheats which the *Irish* historians and Priests put upon their deluded countrymen."

[Fiction Unmasked by W. Harris, p. 37, a work published in answer to Dr. Currie's book.]

No. II.

"After the submission made by the Earl of Tyrone and other *Irish* Grandees of Ulster, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, it was reasonable to expect, that a people wearied out with rebellion, pestilence and famine, as was then the condition of the Irish, would live quiet and loyal under a King of their own lineage—as James the First* boasted that the Kings of Scotland were—and all this in all human probability would have been the case, if the determination of the Universities of Valladolid and Salamanca in Spain, passed in Queen Elizabeth's time, of that malignant and pestilent question† "Whether an Irish Papist may obey or assist his Protestant Sovereign," had not been sent over to Ireland at this juncture, which those learned bodies resolved in the negative by two assertions:—"1st. Since the Earl of Tyrone undertook the war for religion, and by the Pope's approbation, it was as meritorious to aid him against the hereticks as to fight against the Turks. 2dly, that it was a mortal sin in any way to assist the English against him, and that those who did so, could neither have absolution nor salvation without deserting the Hereticks, and repenting of so great a crime." Philip O'Sullivan (the author of the Catholic History and one of Mr. Plowden's authorities) calls the contrary to this opinion "*insanam et venenosam doctrinam*," an extravagant and poisonous doctrine.—These principles of Popery drew from King James the First a sharp expression to the Irish Agents in 1614, who had passed into England to remonstrate against the proceedings of the Parliament. "You, (says His Majesty,) that are of a contrary religion must not look to be the only law-makers; you that are but *half subjects*, should have but *half privileges;* you that have any eye to me but one way and to the Pope another way, the Pope is your father *in spiritualibus*, and I *in temporalibus* only, and so you have your bodies torn one way and your souls drawn another; you that send your children to the seminaries of treason, strive henceforth to become true subjects, that you may have *Cor unum et viam unam*, and then I shall respect you all alike—but your *Irish* Priests teach you such grounds of doctrines as you cannot follow them with a safe conscience, but you must cast off your loyalty to your King."

* See his Speech to the Irish Agents in 1614, given in Cox, 2 vol. p. 25.
† Peter Walsh's Irish Rom. dedic. p. xi. and O'Sullivan's Cathol. Hist. p. 203.

Digitized by Google

It would be worth while to read this speech printed at large, by Sir Richard Cox.

[Fiction Unmasked, by Walter Harris, printed in 1752, page 34.]

No. III.

Doctor Warner, in his excellent History, attributes the rebellion in Ireland in 1641, to the hatred which the Catholic Irish entertain of the English name and nation, to the machinations of the Catholic Clergy, and to the old *grudge* of the Irish at having been dispossessed of their estates:—the following extract alone may suffice, p. 9, chap. 1.—

"Let it suffice only to say, that in the rebellion of Tyrone, under James the First, a great part of six counties, in the province of Ulster, were forfeited to the Crown, and new planted, as many of their lands had been before; but yet these forfeitures were never acknowledged by the Irish as just, and as many of the new settlers were brought from Scotland, which they disliked more than England, it aggravated their supposed injury—and therefore, they thought that in the same way by which they lost their liberties and estates—by superior force—they were entitled to recover them whenever they were able. But to put it out of doubt that this was one of the causes of this rebellion, I will give the reader Lord Castlehaven's opinion in his own words,—a man of sense and candour, a Roman Catholick, and a general in this rebellion on the side of the Irish. "I must confess I myself am now, as I have been long since, upon serious reflections, abundantly convinced, that however the circumstances of this time (meaning the troubles in Scotland) gave life and birth to that rebellion in Ireland, yet the design of it had been laid partly at home, but chiefly abroad in foreign parts, even several years before the troubles either of England or Scotland began, and that the original, true and great motive indeed thereof, was no other than that fatal one, which for so many hundred years from Henry the Second to the beginning of King James's reign, had been not only the very source of all the dangerous rebellions of that country, but the very bane and ruin of its people on all sides for so many ages; the national feud, I mean, between the MERE Irish, as the ancient Milesians are called, and the LATER Irish, or colonies of English extraction among them, and the *unalterable persuasion* of the former, that the English conquest of that country was but mere usurpation without any just title; and that the right both to the supreme sovereignty and proprietorship too, of all the lands of Ireland still remained according to the old Brehon laws of that country——(which, say they, had never been repealed or antiquated) and consequently according to the laws of God in the surviving heirs of the more ancient natives the Milesians. It is true, that forty years continual and flourishing peace, in all obedience to the English laws

Digitized by Google

laws there, from the last of Queen Elizabeth to 1641, seemed to carry a fair outside, as if all those national animosities and pretences had been utterly extinguished. But alas! the old leaven still fermented inwardly of one side, and among that side, the fire was but covered under hot embers; the Earls of Tyrone and * Tirconnell, and the Councils of Spain and Rome, and the Irish Monastries and Seminaries in so many countries of Europe, and very many of the churchmen returning home out of them, and chiefly the *titular Bishops, together with the superiors* of regular orders took an effectual course under the specious colour of religion, to add continually new fuel to the burning coals, and prepare them for a flame on the first opportunity, which whoever did not see in the beginning of this rebellion, as many did not—by observing what extraction, or what names all the first appearers in it were of, and how particularly, of the whole hundred that were designed for seizing the Castle of Dublin, there was not so much as one person of British blood, extraction, or name among them, might nevertheless, and without the help of a multiplying glass, most clearly see in it the procedure of the war."—So far, my Lord Castlehaven, one of Mr. Plowden's authorities!

Now hear Dr. Warner's own reflections, p. 11, book 1st. "But another and perhaps the most prevalent cause of all which generated this rebellion was the difference of religion, and this is the cause avowed by the Catholicks themselves who took up arms, as the reader will presently see. I shall now recall to his remembrance, as a proof of it, what Sir Hen. Vane writes to the Lords Justices, "that His Majesty had received advice that there had lately passed from Spain, and it was likely from other parts, an unspeakable number of *Churchmen* into England and Ireland, and that a whisper run among the Irish Friars in Spain, as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland." This of itself is a proof sufficient to convince us, that an intention to restore the free and unlimited exercise of their religion, was one great cause of this rebellion—and to say the truth, they had never ceased from the time of the Reformation to encroach on the toleration allowed them, but by plots, conspiracies, and insurrections, had been struggling against the Protestant religion, and labouring to overthrow it—nor can we wonder when they are taught, "that the Pope," &c. &c. (and after commenting upon some of the peculiar tenets of the Catholic Faith he goes on)—"But to say nothing of the peculiar spirit of Popery, which from the history of all nations, we know to have been always zealous and sometimes fiery and vindictive, it is no wonder that the Irish Priests, who have an absolute power over the ignorant superstitious multitude, and no little influence over the gentry of their communion, should be continually struggling for the establishment of their religion. They were always educated abroad, but principally in France and Spain,

* O'Donnél, created Earl of Tyrconnel by James 1st.—James the 2d. revived the title, and created Richard Talbot Earl of Tirconnel.

from

Digitized by Google

from whence they returned with principles of unlimited obedience to the Pope, and with too little sense of that allegiance which was due to their rightful Sovereign, though of a communion different from themselves. Thus, they had set up an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, though in express contradiction to the laws of the land, and though the state connived at this offence, and at their celebrating religious rites according to their conscience in a modest private manner, as it is to be hoped it ever will do, yet to those who had seen the pomp and splendour with which their religion was exercised in foreign parts, and which they longed to see restored at home—this was a toleration by no means satisfactory and agreeable.—The figure and grandeur in which foreign prelates appeared, the great respect paid to the inferior clergy, and the certain revenues appropriated to them abroad—these were circumstances which made them uneasy with their own condition in Ireland, where they could not with prudence appear openly, and their character was consequently without public respect, and where even their subsistence, scanty as it was, was absolutely dependent. But yet, the desire of an alteration natural enough to a clergy thus educated, zealous for their religion, and mortified with their distresses, was however of such a nature, that they could not hope to see it gratified in a Parliamentary way, which had been tried with success in other cases. In order to obtain such an alteration as would make them happy, so great a sacrifice must be made of the King's prerogative and the established church as would alienate the minds of all his Protestant subjects, and involve his dominions in anarchy and confusion. No hope therefore remained of procuring any redress by the Parliament of the Crown, and if they expected any relief it must be in the way of arms."

No. IV.

The Irish Parliament of 1639, a very large proportion of which were Roman Catholics, in the preamble to an act of subsidies which they had voted to the King, gave the following approbation of the conduct of the Earl of Strafford:—they express "their great joy and comfort in that his Majesty (Charles the 1st) had provided and placed over us so just, wise, vigilant and profitable a Governor as the Right Hon. Thomas Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of this your said kingdom of Ireland, who by his great care and travail of body and mind, *sincere and upright administration of justice, without partiality*, encrease of your Majesty's revenues without the least hurt or grievance to *any* of your well-disposed and loving subjects, and our great comfort and security, by the large and ample benefits, which we have received and hope to receive by your Majesty's commission of grace for remedy of defective titles *procured hither by his Lordship* from your Majesty—his Majesty's great care in restoring of the Church—the reinforcing of your army within this kingdom, and ordering the same with singular good discipline—his support of your Majesty's wholesome laws here established, his encouragement

Digitized by Google

encouragement to the judges and other good officers, ministers and dispensers of your laws, in the due and sincere administration of justice, his necessary and just strictness for the execution thereof, his due punishment for the contemners of the same, and his care to relieve and redress the poor and oppressed. For this your tenderness over us, shewed by the deputy, &c. We, in free recognition of your great goodness towards us do, for the abbreviation of some part of your Majesty's inestimable charges, most humbly and freely offer to your Majesty four entire subsidies, &c. &c."

[Rushworth's Collect. part 2, p. 1051.]

No. V.

"About this time (January 1642,) the Romish Clergy, who had hitherto as the Lords Justices say, walked somewhat invisibly in those works of darkness began openly to justify the rebellion.—The titular Primate O'Neil, summoned all the Bishops and Clergy of his province to meet in Synod at Kells, where, after making some constitutions against murderers, plunderers, and usurpers of other men's estates, they declared the rebellion to be a pious, lawful war, and exhorted all persons to join in support of it. The titular bishop of Meath was a much honester man—he neither obeyed the summons himself in person, nor by proxy, nor sent any excuse, nor admonished the dignitaries of the Church to attend the Synod.—He had laboured all in his power to keep the nobility and gentry of his diocese from engaging in the rebellion, which he declared to be unjust and groundless, and he had succeeded so well, particularly with the Earl of Westmeath, in whose house he lived, and with several of the Nugent family, that they had not embarked in it.—To this the rebels imputed their miscarriage before Drogheda, and therefore it was thought necessary to censure a prelate who had already done so much mischief, and in case he did not submit to threaten him with a suspension.

[Doctor Warner's History, book 3d. p. 187.]

No. VI.

OATHS OF ASSOCIATION.

Two Oaths of Association were framed by "the Confederate Irish Catholics" in the rebellion 1641.—The following are Doctor Warner's reflections upon each—

"About this time the ministers received the proclamation they had desired, under the King's own hand, and sealed with his privy signet

Digitized by Google

signet—"declaring all those who had taken his forts and castles, possessed themselves of his garrisons and magazines, spoiled many thousands of his good subjects of their houses, goods and lands, massacred multitudes and imprisoned many of them, to be REBELS AND TRAITORS—as likewise their adherents and abettors, and all who should hereafter join with them. In the same proclamation he commanded them to lay down their arms immediately, and in case of their disobedience, authorized the chief governors to prosecute the said rebels and traitors with fire and sword."—This is the whole purport of the proclamation, and is the only proclamation that was ever issued in the King's name; but this is so falsified by * GEOGHEGAN, that it ought not to be passed by. He says, "that the King was so sensible of the provocations of the Irish, that he ordered a proclamation to be published in his name, of a general amnesty to all who should submit in forty days."—The reader will see from hence, *that nothing can be depended upon in such a writer*, and though the chief design of this proclamation was to give the Irish the just appellation of REBELS, yet GEOGHEGAN insists upon it, that they were not rebels—"who are those alone, he says, that rise against their Sovereign."—The King's whole authority in that country was vested in the justices and councils, and to say, as the abbot (GEOGHEGAN) does, that the Irish acknowledged the King for their Sovereign, and did not acknowledge the sovereignty of the justices and council, and therefore their rising against them was no rebellion, is such an evasion of the truth as the greatest candour cannot excuse.

"But this proclamation (from the King) was ineffectual, and the rebels were now united in one body under the title of the "Confederate Roman Catholicks of Ireland," to which confederacy they bound themselves by an oath of association which was generally taken by them throughout the kingdom. They swear "That at all hazards they will maintain the free and public exercise of their religion—that they will bear allegiance to the King, defend him against those that shall endeavour to suppress his prerogative, or do any act contrary to his regal government; and also, the powers and privileges of Parliament; the rights and privileges of the subject, and every person that took that oath, in whatever they should do in lawful pursuance of the same, and by all means oppose and endeavour to bring to condign punishment, even to the loss of life, liberty and state, all such as should in any way whatever attempt any thing to the contrary of any one article in this vow or oath contained." The absurdity and contradiction of this oath of association, stares every one so much in the face, that nothing but an infatuation, under which these people seem to have been from the beginning could have reconciled it to a man of the meanest understanding. The first article is, that they will maintain the free and

* Who is one of Mr. Plowden's authorities.

public

Digitized by Google

public exercise of their religion, and therefore the King, whom by another article they swear to bear allegiance to and defend, who they knew did oppose that article, they vowed to punish, if it was in their power, with the loss of his life and liberty.—Another article is, that they will defend him with their life, power and estate, against all such as shall do any act contrary to his regal government, at the same time, that every act of theirs in this rebellion, even this very oath of association itself, was contrary to his regal government, and was high treason. But I have dwelt too long perhaps on an absurdity, too flagrant to pass among any other people than among the Irish." [P. 163, Dr. Warner, book 3d.]

Of the second Oath of Association, framed in 1642, Doctor Warner observes:—

"This oath of association differs somewhat in form, though little in sense, and in a treacherous absurdity from that which had been taken before and which is mentioned in the former book. In this oath they swore "to bear true allegiance to the King and to maintain his prerogatives and rights, the power and priviledges of the Parliament in Ireland and the fundamental laws of that kingdom;" but they swore at the same time in direct opposition to these fundamental laws, "that they would defend and uphold the free exercise of the Roman Catholic faith and religion throughout the land—and the lives, liberties, estates and rights of all those that had taken or should take that oath and perform the contents thereof, that they would obey all the orders of the Supreme Council, and would not seek any pardon or protection for any act touching the said general cause without the consent of the major part of the said Council; that they would not do any thing to prejudice the said cause, which to the hazard of their lives and estates they would assist, prosecute, and maintain.—Moreover they swore further, that they would not accept of nor submit to, any peace made without the consent of the General Assembly, and for the preservation and strengthening of the association upon any peace to be made with the confederate Catholicks as aforesaid, they would to the utmost of their power insist upon and maintain the ensuing propositions until a peace be made and the articles agreed upon be established and secured by Parliament." The ensuing propositions were to no less a purport than that "the Roman Catholic religion should be as freely and publickly exercised and in as full lustre and splendour as before the Reformation—that all the secular clergy should enjoy their several jurisdictions and immunities in as full and ample a manner as they did before the Reformation—that all the laws of restraint, penalty, fine, or incapacity, laid upon the Catholic clergy or laity since the Reformation should be repealed by Parliament, and that the prelates and clergy should hold and enjoy all the churches and church-livings, with all their profits and emoluments, in as large and ample a manner as they were enjoyed by the Protestant clergy before this rebellion." In short, the meaning of these propositions was nothing more nor less, than that the Protestant religion should be extirpated, the Reformation should be annihilated, and Popery should be established

Digitized by Google

lished in all its ancient splendour. That the titular bishops and clergy should have impudence enough to frame such an oath and such propositions, by which they were to acquire so large a share of power and profit is not much to be wondered at, but that the nobility and gentry, who had either conscience or common sense, could be weak enough to submit to an oath, by which in the beginning of it, they were bound to maintain and defend the King's rights and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and in the end of it, equally bound to oppose those rights and laws, and finally, to abrogate and overturn them, is a matter of great astonishment. If the making a new Great Seal, coining money, appointing an Attorney-General, and ordering "that no temporal government or jurisdiction should be exercised within that kingdom during the troubles, except such as should be approved of by the General Assembly, or Supreme Council," were not acts that deprived the King of his rights and prerogatives, and that abrogated the fundamental laws of the land, then nothing could be so interpreted. The King's Ministers were rebels, and this assembly was the legal state. An absurdity, which the Popish clergy found men obedient enough to them to swallow, though so repugnant to common sense. But it confirms an observation made in the last book on the principles of Popery, "That no duty of allegiance—no ties of any kind are to stand in competition with the interests of that religion."—It shews too what a great power the priesthood have over the conscience in that communion—a power inconsistent with reason, and not more opposite to liberty, than to the Christian doctrine."

[Doctor Warner, p. 239, book 4.]

No. VII.

Two years after the horrible rebellion and massacre of 1641 had taken place, the confederated Irish Catholicks assembled in Council at Trim, on the 17th March 1643, drew up a remonstrance of their pretended grievances to the King, which remonstrance contains fourteen articles, and the whole takes up nearly ten pages folio, in Mr. Carte's collection, to which, as it is too long for insertion, the reader is referred. Suffice it here to quote Doctor Warner's opinion of this remonstrance.—

"In the very first sentence of this remonstrance they tell the King, that they were, "necessitated to take arms for the preservation of their religion, the maintenance of his Majesty's rights and prerogatives, the natural and just defence of their lives and estates, and the liberties of their country;" there was something so impudent in this assertion, which the King himself knew to be false in every part, as was enough to deter him from reading any further, or to prejudice him against all that followed.—It was known to the whole world that they were not troubled, nor questioned about their religion

Digitized by Google

gion for a considerable time before the insurrection, and that there were no other opponents in Ireland of his Majesty's rights and prerogatives, besides themselves—who had usurped them to that degree, as to make it an act of their general assembly that there should be no other temporal government or jurisdiction, but what was approved and instituted by them; and other things already mentioned as to their lives and estates, they had the protection of the laws, and not a single instance could be given, that a Papist, merely as such, suffered any violence in either from a Protestant, that was not punished except in open rebellion, when this insurrection broke out. The King had said in his commission above-mentioned, of which the confederate Catholics had a copy, that he did extremely detest the odious rebellion, which they had without ground, or colour, raised against him, his crown and dignity; and in their preamble, they politely tell him, that they never entertained any rebellious thoughts against either, and insist upon their having been always his most faithful and loyal subjects. In short, almost all the truth in this long remonstrance either concerned the Protestants as well as the Papists in Ireland, and therefore, was no sufficient ground for the insurrection of the latter, or else relates to facts posterior to it, which they would make the King believe were the causes of their rebellion. It is difficult to say, whether there is more weakness or falsehood in this long-laboured instrument—there is much of both; and it seems to verify the character which hath been given of it, "that the Irish first resolved to rebel and then set their lawyers and divines to work in order to fish for arguments to justify or excuse it."

[Doctor Warner's Hist. pp. 261, 262, book 4.]

No. VIII.

"About the middle of June (1645) two of their agents were sent from the general assembly to Dublin, to renew the treaty, the others being to follow at the breaking up of their assembly. There is nothing more certain in this History, than that it was the fixed resolution of these people to take advantage of the King's necessities; though their own ruin as well as his were hazarded by it, and in the end, as it will be seen, it was the consequence: and who can pity them? As the King's necessities encreased the Irish Catholics rose in their demands; and the agents were sent with such new propositions as though they imagined the game was in their own hands entirely:—they REQUIRED, that the act of oblivion should be without exception of persons; that the planted lands in Wicklow and Kilkenny should be restored to the ancient owners by act of Parliament; that every one aggrieved by the old plantations in King James's reign might be relieved by Parliament; that all the penal laws that were ever made against Roman Catholicks, and the statutes of provisors and premunire should be repealed; that all Catholicks

Digitized by Google

tholicks should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy; that all their titular bishops and prelates should exercise their jurisdiction upon those of their religion without controul; that a further act should be made to exempt the Catholicks from all penalties whatever on account of the exercise of their religion; that * the churches which were in their possession, should neither be demanded nor expected from them, for they might not restore them; that not only all † their cities, forts, and places in their hands should remain so, but that they should continue to exercise their new form of government till every thing was settled by act of Parliament, according to the articles of the peace; that they should not only have an equality of numbers and of eminence of places in all civil and military offices, in the privy council, in courts of law and of magistracy and profit throughout the kingdom, but that his Majesty's favour in this respect should be made certain by particular instances at present; that this condition should be expressed in the articles of peace, and extend to future times in like manner; that they might erect Universities and Free-Schools; that Poyning's act should be suspended, and all impediments to that suspension ‡ and their own sitting in Parliament might be removed; that all their debts to the Protestants might be compounded by commissioners; that all who did not submit to the peace should be declared traitors, and be attainted in Parliament; that all Privy Counsellors, Judges, and Magistrates, before they executed their offices should be sworn to observe these articles of pacification, and that an act of Parliament should be passed, that neither those articles, nor any part of them should ever be repealed."—

[Doctor Warner's History, p. 847, book 5.]

No. IX.

In the Journals of the English House of Commons for the year 1693, Jan. 12th, is the following extraordinary report relative to Ireland.

"It is notorious, that not an Irishman who was in Ireland during the late § rebellion, and capable of being guilty thereof,

* Which they had seized from the Protestants in every part of the country.

† Which they had possessed themselves of by stratagem or by force of arms.

‡ viz. The oath of supremacy, which the Irish Parliament of 1641, (after the expulsion of forty-six of the Catholic Members, who were either in open rebellion or implicated in it) enacted, should in future be taken by every member before he should be allowed to sit or vote in their House.—See Irish Com. Journals, 1 vol. A. D. 1641.

§ The contest between King James's army and King William's.

either

Digitized by Google

either by being actually in arms, or aiding, abetting, and assisting the rebels, is innocent: so that the only persons presumed to be so, are either such as continued in England during the whole time, of which there are not above three or four persons; or infants of such an age as could not capacitate them to bear arms; or abet or assist the rebels: in both which cases, it is to be noted, that the heirs or next in remainder may have been, or probably were in rebellion.

Fifty-two rebellions which the Irish have been guilty of, may sufficiently evince, that nothing can reconcile the implacable hatred of them to the British nation!!"

APPENDIX

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX

TO

PART THE THIRD.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Extract from the late Lord Clare's Speech in the House of Lords in Ireland, on the passing of the Catholic Bill of 1793. (Page 27.)

" IT may perhaps be said that the power of the Pope and the laws of the Romish Church are become obsolete, and therefore that there no longer exists any good reason for continuing the restraints heretofore imposed upon Catholics: but I am confident that the old Romish superstition is, at this hour, as rank in Ireland as it was in the year 1641. I am confident that there now is, and always has been, a regular and constant correspondence and communication kept up between this country and the Court of Rome; and that the spiritual power of the Pope is at this day acknowledged as implicitly as it ever was at any period of Irish history.

" It is perfectly well known that we have a Popish hierarchy in this country, claiming and exercising all Episcopal functions, under the immediate authority of the Court of Rome; and it is the boast of the Popish Bishops, that Ireland is a singular exception to the Catholic Church discipline of every other country in Europe, in which their religion is not connected with the state; that in other Protestant states, the heads of the Popish Church have not any Episcopal jurisdiction, being without sees, and denominated from ancient sees, now a part of the Ottoman dominions, but that from the days of St. Peter, the Popish hierarchy has been preserved in Ireland by a regular succession of Prelates in the several sees, where they have always acted as Ordinaries; and accordingly there is in every diocese of Ireland, a regular Popish Consistorial Court, acting under the authority of the Pope, and entertaining causes of Ecclesiastical cognizance, which are decided according to the laws of their Forum, without regard in any sort to the laws of this country—If proof was wanting upon this most serious subject, I have it in my possession. A Popish Priest, who acts as Judge in the Consistorial Court of Elphin, in the month of December, 1791, cited parties who had lived together as man and wife, to appear in his Court in a cause of nullity of marriage; they had been married by a Priest, and had cohabited—however, the marriage contract was pronounced null and void, and the woman was turned loose upon the world.

Digitized by Google

On her complaint to a neighbouring gentleman, one of the representatives of the county, he remonstrated against this proceeding—but in vain: the Consistorial Judge persisted in enforcing his sentence; and, in justification of himself, enclosed to this gentleman a decree of the Council of Trent, *De Reformatione Matrimonii*, under which he had proceeded, and in the course of his correspondence upon this subject, which is now in my possession, he very gravely stated that an attack upon the laws of their Church, would be an attack upon the whole body of Roman Catholics. That this being a clear case, he had full and final jurisdiction, for that appeals were made to the Court of Rome in causes of Ecclesiastical cognizance, only in cases of difficulty, *Vel propter Dignitatem Personarum*, as in the case of Henry VIII. and Queen Catherine.

"I do not know how this proceeding may strike other men, but the avowed existence of a foreign jurisdiction in the heart of this country, governed by the laws of a foreign Prince, evidently framed for the subversion of all Protestant states, is to me a ground of most serious alarm; and the wildness with which we are now proceeding in the modern philosophical system of Catholic emancipation, has very much encreased my apprehensions of the danger arising from it: if this bill shall receive the Royal assent, I must from that moment consider the Popish religion as virtually established by law in Ireland. The number of Popish Priests maintained in this country, certainly exceed two thousand; I have heard them calculated at two thousand five hundred; and it seems well worthy of consideration, that this great body of ecclesiastics, exercising unbounded authority over their flocks, acknowledging an unbounded ecclesiastical power in a foreign Prince, and recognizing in their fullest extent the laws of a foreign state, is to be established by law, and let loose upon this country, totally free from all ecclesiastical controul, and disclaiming the authority of the temporal tribunals upon any subject, involving in it the interests of their religion.—If any man doubts that the Popish clergy deny the authority of the Temporal Courts, to this extent, let me refer him to the recent conduct of the Parish Priests of a southern county. They were summoned in the last Session of Parliament to give evidence before a Secret Committee of the House of Commons, in order to disqualify a number of persons of their own communion, who had voted at the general election for the gentleman who had been returned one of the representatives of the county; to a man they refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the Committee, or to give evidence before it. And to the scandal and reproach of the Tribunal which they had thus insulted, they were suffered to depart triumphantly, I do believe at the intercession of the gentleman at whose instance they had been summoned, who entertained well-founded apprehensions, that if the House of Commons had proceeded to punish their contumacy, he would have been murdered on his return home.

"It is therefore idle in any man to assert, or to affect to think, that the old mischievous Popish superstition is at an end in this country.

Digitized by Google

country. The slow progress of the Reformation proves the general abhorrence entertained of the Protestant religion by the people; the profound ignorance of the lower ranks qualifies them fully to receive any impression which their Priests may chuse to make upon them; and the misfortune of the country is, that if their minds should be divested of a superstitious veneration for their Priests, such is the ignorance and barbarism of the mass of the people, that they would necessarily sink into a state of rude nature. But the Popish superstition of the country is not confined to the lower ranks, it flourishes with full vigour amongst the better order of the people: it is notorious, that the conformity of any one member of a Popish stock, to the Protestant religion, is considered as a great and irreparable family misfortune: and if the opportunity offers, the great object of the family is to put him into the hands of a Popish Priest on his death-bed, that, by a reconciliation to the the Church, he may die in a state of salvation*.—The old Popish High Church usurpations, have been fully and candidly asserted and avowed in a very modern publication, by Doctor Troy, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, a gentleman, whom I have not the honour to know but from character; and he has been uniformly represented to me, as a man of irreproachable manners and conduct. In this publication, which is addressed to the Catholics of Ireland, in a pastoral letter, he gives them some very good advice. He recommends to them a peaceable and loyal demeanor; reminds them of the allegiance they owe to their lawful Sovereign; but in the same breath cautions them, most emphatically, not to depart from their ecclesiastical allegiance to the Pope; and declares to them, in broad and distinct terms, that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority, assumed by the Kings of England, was, in its origin, and still continues to be, a prophane usurpation upon the inherent spiritual and ecclesiastical Primacy, not only of power and rank, but of real jurisdiction and authority of the Pope or Bishop of Rome, derived to him by Divine right, as successor to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles in that see. And in this pastoral letter, he tells his flock, in broad and distinct terms, that any deviation from their ecclesiastical allegiance to the Pope, or acknowledgment of ecclesiastical allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, must inevitably bring upon them eternal perdition. He has, in this pastoral letter, communicated one piece of information, and one only which is new to me,—and that is, that there is a standing Cabinet of Cardinals at Rome for the ecclesiastical government of Ireland.

* The late Lord Dunboyne, a Catholic nobleman of Ireland, had conformed to the Protestant religion, and continued for above ten years to profess it. In his last illness, however, his Lordship *relapsed*; and having made a will, he left his estates from his family to the Royal Catholic College of Maynooth, and died a Roman Catholic, having received all the rites, and submitted to all the last ceremonies of that Church. His will has, however, been since set aside by the Courts in Ireland, and his next of kin have obtained his property. Lord D. died about four years ago.

Digitized by Google

"I was always apprized that the Pope had established an Irish Nuncio resident at Brussels; but this Cabinet of Cardinals for the ecclesiastical government of Ireland is new to me. I presume the Cardinal York * is at the head of it, and therefore there can be no doubt, that the mild superintending spiritual influence of this Cabinet upon the Irish Catholics, will have the best effects in cultivating their hereditary attachment to the British government, and the British nation, and their natural affection for the established Constitution in Church and State. It is idle to palliate their attachment to the Court of Rome, by asserting that the Catholics of Ireland acknowledge only *canonical* obedience to the Pope. Canonical obedience to the Pope, is inconsistent with the duties of civil allegiance to a Protestant state. I consider civil allegiance to my Sovereign, to consist in an explicit acknowledgement of the powers which the constitution has entrusted to him, and in prompt and implicit obedience to the laws, civil and ecclesiastical, by which he governs his subjects. And I know that canonical obedience to the Pope, as enjoined by the laws of the Court of Rome, is utterly inconsistent with the duties of civil allegiance to my Sovereign, as enjoined by the laws and constitution of the British empire. And therefore I do not scruple to say, that, in my opinion, it is an act of insanity in the Parliament of Ireland, to open the efficient political powers of the state in any degree to Papists, holding correspondence or communion with the Court of Rome. If they do not make use of them to subvert a Protestant government, they must resist the ruling passions and propensities of the human mind; and as to their professions of attachment, I cannot forget that James II. when Duke of York, with tears in his eyes, requested an exemption in his favour from the Test Act; and pledged his word, as a Prince and a Peer, that his religion was only a matter between God and his conscience; and that it never should in any instance influence his political conduct in England. I cannot forget, that he renewed the same professions on his succession to the Throne;—that as a private man, he was always considered to be a man of truth and honour; yet, when Mr. Devaux, his confessor, had access to him, his professions were all forgotten; and we know the abuses which he afterwards committed under the same pernicious influence."

* Since dead; but as the present Pope is the tool of the French Usurper, if Lord Clare's information be correct, no doubt some Cardinal in the interest of France now presides over this Cabinet of Cardinals.

Digitized by Google

No. II.

ANECDOTE,

From the last Vol. of Sir J. Dalrymple's Memoirs.

"It was intended, in the April of the year 1776, that the late Earl of Rochford, with whom I had the honour to live more like a brother than a friend, should succeed the Earl of Harcourt in the government of Ireland. Lord Rochford shewed me his Majesty's note about it, and said he had asked time from his Royal Master to consider. He told me his reason for doing so was, that as continual residence in Ireland for three years was the understood condition of his going there, he could not submit, at his age, to so long an exile, unless he could do some great good there, and get some great fame: that two objects occurred to him, the one to procure a repeal of the penal laws against Roman Catholics, and the other to bring about an Union with England; that both seemed visionary, and yet he could not get them out of his head; that the dearest friend he had in the world was Lord Harcourt, and that he would be obliged to me if I would go over to Ireland, let Lord Harcourt know the offer which he (Lord Rochford) had got, his hesitation, and his two views, and receive Lord Harcourt's opinions and reasons upon those views, which could be better done by conversation than by letters. When I delivered my opinion to the Lord Lieutenant, he smiled, and said, "A Nassau may do in this country what I cannot, and Rochford is open and frank and will please the Irish, but what you come about requires much talking over." I staid a week with him in the country. With regard to the penal laws, he thought there was not much difficulty; that the Roman Catholics were all on the side of England, and of the King of England in the American war, and that very good use might be made of them in the course of it. And there are men now living, high both in Church and State, who may remember the conversations on that head, and that they thought on it as he did. But with regard to the other object, Lord Harcourt thought there were great difficulties to surmount, yet perhaps not insurmountable. When two men open their minds freely, and give their lights to each other in conversation, it is difficult to say on which side thoughts and opinions originate, and still more difficult at the distance of ten years to recollect them. But the impression upon my mind at present of Lord Harcourt's opinion is, that to attempt an Union with Ireland in time of war was insanity, notwithstanding its having succeeded in Scotland at such a time; that the minds of the Irish must be long prepared, for which purpose Government should take the assistance of the best writers of the nation on both sides of the water, to point out the advantages of an Union in different lights to different men,

Digitized by Google

men, and should, in the mean time, treat Ireland with a confidence which she very well deserved; that no Union should be attempted, unless the wish for it came from the side of Ireland, and even then, not unless there was a strong body of troops there to keep the madmen in order, and these troops Irish, and not English; that the two great objections were, loss of money by absentees, and loss of importance by diminishing the numbers of Peers and Commoners, if a representation should take place to the United Parliament, as was done with Scotland; but there was a way to obviate both objections by one measure. The measure was, that the rights of the Peers, counties, and boroughs, should continue as they were, but that only * one third in rotation should attend the United Parliament, and he who did not chuse to attend should have power to name one from amongst the other Members in his place, by which all the men of parts or fortune (the only persons who ought to attend Parliament) would be always sure of a seat, and the representation of Ireland would, at that time, have consisted of about 40 Peers and about 100 Commoners.

"When I reported these things to Lord Rochford, he said, "All this is too long an affair for me," and he declined the honour which his Sovereign intended for him."

No. III.

Extract from the last Chapter of Story's History of the Wars of Ireland.

"The interest of England to advance the power of the English in Ireland."

"And though it has been the ruining fate of that kingdom to have some great men, both in Court and Parliament, judge it the interest of England to keep Ireland poor and low, and it may appear strange to hear an Englishman by birth (and a mere stranger to the having any interest in Ireland) to endeavour the contradicting of it; but in my humble opinion, whatsoever may be allowed in this, as to the promoting the private advantages of a great many trading people, and even men of estates in England, which all would suffer by the advancing of these in Ireland, yet it's so far from being the real interest either of the kingdom of England, to cramp Ireland in its prosperity, that the wealth and greatness of Ireland, in trade and manufactures, is to be promoted both by the King and people of England as much as possibly it can. And first, as to the Kings of England, it is the same thing to them, whether they have their

* It were needless to point out the objections attending this plan, and the advantages of the one adopted.

customs

Digitized by Google

customs from Bristol or Dublin, from Cork or Newcastle, &c. or whether their levies of men, when occasions offer, are made in the counties of Wicklow and Waterford, Cumberland or Yorkshire, provided the interest were one and the same in both kingdoms.

"And as to the people of England in general, one should think it's their business to promote and encourage the trade and prosperity of Ireland, that thereby it might not only support itself in time of peace, but defend and maintain itself in war, which nothing but promoting its trade and wealth will do. For what Ireland cannot do in order to its safety, England must supply to prevent its own danger, since, if ever a foreign enemy surprize and possess Ireland, especially the French, then England must maintain a greater standing force to secure themselves, than would have secured Ireland, if employed in its defence, it being no groundless saying of some old-fashioned poet:—

"He that wou'd England win,
"Must with Ireland first begin."

For though, in former times, when little or no shipping appeared upon these narrow seas, and France and other countries knew not what it was to have a fleet, and there was but small commerce even between England and Ireland themselves, yet in this active age of the world, it would go very hard with England if the French should possess Ireland, who have all the harbours from Dunkirk to Brest, and if they had Cork, Baltimore, and Bantry, where would our western trade be? Besides, by possessing the eastern coast of Ireland, they would surround three parts in four of England, and a great part of Scotland, and could invade either when they pleased, which would necessitate England to be always at the charge of a considerabte standing army, and then farewell both their wealth and long enjoyed liberty.

"Our ancestors sensible of this." } "And so sensible have our ancestors been of something or other to be done in this affair, that Sir Henry Sidney, that most excellent Governour, who had spent great part of his time in that kingdom, holding a Parliament there, for a subsidy in the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, he, with the Lords and Commons, in the preamble to the act of Parliament, thus express themselves to the Queen:—*Considering the infinite masses of treasure able to purchase a kingdom, that your noble progenitors have exhausted, for the government, defence, and preservation of your Majestie's realm of Ireland*," &c.

"The former evils still remain." } "Which evils still remaining, the remedies are as yet to be found out, at least to be put in practice; for though the war be now happily ended, yet there are at this day at least three different interests on foot in that kingdom, the English (Protestant), the Irish (Catholic), and Scots (Presbyterian); the first of which seem the least concerned in their own advancement, but the last gain ground daily in the North, there being at least ten thousand people come thither out

Digitized by Google

out of Scotland within these twelve months (1693), which in time will make their party considerable; for the people of England live better than the Scots at home, and are not so easily invited to look abroad; whereas the Scots, their part of Ireland, by this means, in a few years is like to be more than it has been; and as to the Irish, *every one sees their indefatigable industry in promoting the interest of their own party, no discouragements being able to blunt, but rather serve to sharpen their endeavours for the effecting of what they believe may be some steps towards their future prosperity, making every particular man's case a general grievance, and each assisting other, as being all concerned in the same general cause;* whilst the English, even in that country, who still feel the smart of their former calamities, will yet rather let their lands to an Irishman, or a Scot, that shall give them sixpence in an acre more, and never improve it further, than to an English farmer, that, if he had encouragement, would in a few years make good improvements, which will still continue one great reason why Ireland will not easily be made an English country.

"The interest of the Irish Papists themselves to advance the power of England."

"But I can carry the matter yet higher, and affirm, that it is the real interest of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland themselves, whether of Irish or English extraction, to promote that of England as much as they can in their country, if they will but consult the future safety of themselves and their posterity, since without the support of some other nation they can never hope of themselves to be an independent kingdom, and if they were, we can scarcely find out how they would agree amongst themselves, who should command, or who obey, which they never could yet from the beginning do; and what did the Irish ever get by accompanying either their lords or followers into rebellion? or what should they have gotten if the late attempt had absolutely succeeded, but a more absolute servitude under the French? and therefore it's better for them to have their old English friends they have been so long acquainted with, than run the hazard of setting up new tyrants of their own, or having them come to 'em from abroad.

"Besides, if the English interest were strong and powerful in Ireland, this would cut off the hopes of all disaffected people for ever thinking to withstand it, and would make them reject all tenders from abroad, and inticements from the Jesuited Priests at home, and never would they run such desperate risks, which still fall upon their own heads at last; so that if the English interest were so fortified that all hopes of removing it were cut off, the Irish would not be prevailed upon to make such destructive attempts, to themselves and posterities, as they often have done hitherto, by the insinuations of their Priests, who have nothing to lose, nor families to provide for, but only hazard the lives and fortunes of others that have both, since (as Sir William Petty observes) *there are, and ever will be, in England, men ready for any exploit and change, either by being*

Digitized by Google

being discontented with their present condition, or otherwise well inclined to the service, more than are sufficient to quell any insurrection which the Irish can make and abide by; which would spare both the blood and treasure of England, if those of that nation in Ireland could do it of themselves.

"Two objections answered." "There are only two objections that I know of, which seem to be considerable against this opinion of promoting the trade and wealth of Ireland; the first is, that if Ireland should be encouraged so far as to make it altogether an English country, it would drain the wealth and inhabitants of England to that degree, that we should impoverish ourselves, by putting our trade into their hands, who would be equal, if not superior, to us in a short time, since their country lies as convenient in all respects for trade as ours, and has several advantages above it.—*Answer.* This would rather encourage England to be more industrious in trade and manufactures, when they saw their younger sister of Ireland, by having the same privileges of trade with herself, begin to contend with her in this particular, and would create a profitable emulation amongst the people of both kingdoms; since I have not that opinion of trade, that some people have of motion, that there's a determinate quantity, and when it fails in one place, it encreases in another. There is trade enough no doubt abroad in the world for them all, if they will but be industrious. However, there can be no disadvantage accrue either to the King of England or his people in general, by having this effected; nay, this would soon be more for the advantage of the Crown of England than any poor customs that are got by dividing the nations can ever amount to; for who sees not the good effects of the Union between England and Wales?

"The other objection is, that if Ireland were so far encouraged in trade and other advantages, as to become absolutely an English country, and equally entitled to the benefits of its laws, &c. the people there, after some time, would grow rich, and consequently proud, so that they would then set up for themselves, and deny all manner of dependence upon England, which would soon create a more dangerous civil war than ever.—*Answer.** There can be no fear of this, since nothing could be got by such a revolt, but their own destruction; and it's as probable that the English on the North of Trent, should, upon any disgust, endeavour to set up for themselves, which they are sensible could bring nothing but ruin to the whole. Besides, since the Royal Seat of the Kings, the principal Courts of Judicature, *and also the Royal Navy*, are always on this side the water, all attempts of this kind would prove vain and fruitless, and the rest of the world laugh at such a destructive folly and madness.

* Previous to the Union I should not have assented to the Rev. Mr. Story's reasoning; since that great event is happily accomplished, we are of opinion that every objection to his arguments is removed.

Digitized by Google

"The Protestant religion, in the first place, to be taken care of."

"I pretend not to meddle with any particular methods for promoting the English interest in Ireland, only it's worth the knowledge and care of every one, especially those in places of authority and trust, what was in my Lord Barkley's instructions (dated May 12, 1670), relating to matters of religion: "that forasmuch as all good success doth rest upon the service of God, above all things you are to settle good orders in the Church, that God may be better served in the true established religion, and the people by that means reduced from their errors." But whilst the Irish are in the power of the Romish Clergy, they keep them in such awe and ignorance, that they scarcely dare or can enquire into the differences in religion, nor read the scriptures, nor yet confer with any Protestant Divine, so that all they generally know of religion (I speak of the vulgar sort) is some fabulous legends of the Priests' invention; or that their fathers and families were of that persuasion, and so must they be also. But though they be much given to lying, yet they are not in the main so ill-natured as some people make them, since they own our baptism and other institutions to be essential, and will of their own accord come to us when they have not the conveniency of a Priest, several instances of which I could give of my own knowledge.

"There are a great many very learned, pious, and devout Clergymen of the Protestant Church in Ireland, discharging the duties of their functions, with such religious and godly sincerity, as become the messengers of Christ: but there being a great many impropriations in that kingdom, and by this means half a score parishes, in some places, not able to afford one hundred pounds *per annum* to a Minister: this has given occasion to the union of several parishes, and not only so, but for frequent pluralities, and that in several places very much to the disadvantage of the Church, by which means there are a great many parishes inhabited only with Papists, which for that reason are generally called *sine cures*, as if the Minister had no business there at all. But this I can by no means subscribe unto, since to me they seem to be the clear contrary, and not impossible to remedy, by finding out some means to allow each Minister a competency, and then oblige him to reside upon it, whether his parishioners be Papists or Protestants, since the living among those people, and the frequent conversation with them, would be of more force than all the * penal laws in Christendom.

* Mr. Story wrote in 1693. Though the penal laws have been long since abolished, Protestantism has not gained ground in Ireland as much as was to be expected and wished. Perhaps some of the hints given by the Rev. Mr. Story (Chaplain to Sir Thomas Gower's regiment) may be worth attention even at this day, A.D. 1804. With this view, I have made the extract from his work, which is scarce.

"There

Digitized by Google

" There was a View of Ireland, writ by Spencer as I take it, towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and amongst other things he has this remarque :. " Several Irish famelies (says he) are already become English, and more would if the English would do their parts, in supplying the country with learned, pious, and painful preachers, who could out-preach and out-live the Irish Priests. For religion must not be forcibly imposed upon them with terrors and sharp penalties (as now (1693) is the manner), but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, which yet is not so difficult a task as some people make it; for if the antient godly fathers, who first converted them, when they were infidels, to the faith, were able to pull them from idolatry and paganism, to the true belief of Christ, (as St. Columb and St. Patrick), how much more easily shall godly teachers bring them to the understanding of that which they already profess, if they did but shew as much zeal in disswading them from their errors, as the Priests do care and industry to keep them in them."

" But what I am sorry to see so true is, that *idleness* is the *malus* genius of that kingdom, and except you can persuade the people to be industrious too as well as religious, you are not much nearer the matter, for they are naturally a lazy crew, and love nothing so much as their ease; and if an Irishman has but a cow and a potatoe-garden, it's all the wealth he commonly aspires to; which way of feeding, a great many give for the reason they are generally so mean spirited, for you'll see them in companies lye loytering in the street of any country village, or by the high-way sides, enquiring after and telling news to one another, but not one in twenty at work in the fields, or otherways honestly employed, which is the reason that, at this very day, most of the goals of the kingdom are filled with thieves, and the streets with incredible number of importunate houling beggars, who yet most of them had rather live so than otherways."

Digitized by Google

No. IV.

[*It has been judged proper to reprint the following original* Prospectus *of the association of* United Irishmen, *which was privately circulated by the first founders of that Society in the month of June*, 1791. *Whoever reads this with attention will require no further proof that the deepest and most systematic Treason, not only against the Constitution of Ireland, but against the whole Order of Society in every country, was the grand object of that Fraternity from the first moment of its being conceived.—It will be seen, that every aid which infernal ingenuity could furnish for working on the passions of the weak, the ignorant, and the depraved, was deliberately adopted—that even in this embryo state the design rises to a height of revolutionary boldness hardly equalled by the German* Illuminati *themselves.*]

"IDEM SENTIRE, DICERE, AGERE."

"It is proposed that at this conjuncture a Society hall be instituted in this city, having much of the secrecy, and somewhat of the ceremonial attached to Free Masonry—with so much secrecy as may communicate curiosity, uncertainty and expectation to the minds of surrounding men;—with so much impressive and affecting ceremony in all its internal œconomy, as, without impeding real business, may strike the soul through the senses, and addressing the *whole* man, may animate his philosophy by the energy of his passions.

Secrecy is expedient and necessary; it will make the bond of union more cohesive, and the spirit of this union more ardent and more condensed; it will envelope this dense flame with a cloud of gloomy ambiguity, that will not only facilitate its own agency, but will at the same time confound and terrify its enemies by their ignorance of the design, the extent, the direction, or the consequences. It will throw a veil over those individuals whose professional prudence might make them wish to lye concealed, until a manifestation of themselves became absolutely necessary. And, lastly, secrecy is necessary, because it is by no means certain that a country, so great a stranger to itself as Ireland, where the North and the South, and the East and West, meet to wonder at each other, is yet *prepared* for the adoption of one profession of Political Faith, while there may be individuals from each of these quarters ready to adopt such a profession, and to propagate it with their best abilities, *when* necessary—with their blood.

Our Provinces are perfectly ignorant of each other;—our Island is connected;—we ourselves are insulated; and the distinctions of rank, of property, and of religious persuasion, have hitherto been not merely lines of difference, but brazen walls of separation. We are separate nations met and settled together, not mingled, but *convened;*

Digitized by Google

convened; an incoherent mass of dissimilar materials, uncemented, unconsolidated, like the image which Nebuchadnezzar saw with a head of fine gold, legs of iron, and feet of clay, parts that do not cleave to one another.

In the midst of an island, where Manhood has met and continues to meet with such severe humiliation, where selfish men, or classes of men, have formed such a malignant conspiracy against Public Good, let one benevolent, beneficent conspiracy arise, one Plot of Patriots pledged by solemn abjuration to each other in the service of the People—the PEOPLE, in the largest sense of that momentous word. Let the cement of this Constitutional Compact be a principle of such strong attraction, as completely to overpower all accidental and temporary repulsions that take place between real Irishmen, and thus to consolidate the scattered and shifting sand of Society into an adhesive and immoveable Caisson, sunk beneath the dark and troubled waters. It is by wandering from the few plain and simple principles of Political Faith that our Politics, like our Religion, has become Preaching, not Practice, Words, not Works.

A Society, such as this, will disclaim those party appellations which seem to pale the human heart into petty compartments, and parcel out into Sects and Sections, Common Sense, Common Honesty, and Common Weal. As little will it affect any speculative, unimpassioned, quiescent benevolence. It will not call itself a Whig Club, or a Revolution Society. It will not ground itself on a name indicative of a party, or an event well enough in the circumstances and in the season. It will not be an Aristocracy affecting the language of Patriotism, the rival of Despotism, for its own sake, not its irreconcileable enemy, for the sake of *us all.*

It will not, by views merely retrospective, stop the march of mankind, or force them back into the lanes and alleys of their ancestors. It will have an eye provident and prospective, a reach and amplitude of conception commensurate to the progressive diffusion of knowledge, and at the same time a promptitude in execution requisite in a life like this, so short and so fragile, in a nation like this, so passive and procrastinating. Let its name be the IRISH BROTHERHOOD. Let its general aim be to make the light of philanthropy, a pale and ineffectual light, *converge,* and by converging, kindle into ardent, energetic, enthusiastic love for Ireland; that genuine unadulterated enthusiasm which descends from a luminous head to a burning heart, and impels the spirit of man to exertions greatly good, or unequivocally great. For this Society is not to rest satisfied in drawing speculative plans of reform and improvement, but to be practically busied about the *means* of accomplishment. Were the hand of Locke to hold from Heaven, a scheme of government most perfectly adapted to the nature and capabilities of the Irish Nation, it would drop to the ground a mere sounding scroll, were there no other means of giving it effect than its intrinsic excellence. All true Irishmen agree in *what* ought to be done, but how to get it done is the question.—This Society is likely

Digitized by Google

likely to be a means the most powerful for the promotion of a great end—what END?

THE RIGHTS OF MEN IN IRELAND, the greatest happiness of the greatest number in *this island*, the inherent and indefeasible claims of every free nation, to rest in this nation—the *will* and the *power* to be happy—to pursue the Commonweal as an individual pursues his private welfare, and to stand in insulated independence, an imperatorial People.—To gain a knowledge of the real state of this heterogeneous country, to form a summary of the national will and pleasure in points most interesting to national happiness, and when such a summary is formed, to put this *Doctrine* as speedily as may be into *Practice*, will be the purpose of this Central Society, or Lodge, from which other Lodges in the different towns will radiate.

THE GREATEST HAPPINESS OF THE GREATEST NUMBER—On the rock of this principle let this Society rest; by this let it judge and determine every political question, and whatever is necessary for this end, let it not be accounted hazardous, but rather our interest, our duty, our glory, and our common religion. The Rights of Men are the Rights of God, and to vindicate the one is to maintain the other. We must be free, in order to serve Him, whose service is perfect freedom.

Let every Member wear, day and night, an Amulet round his neck, containing the great principle which unites the Brotherhood, in letters of gold, on a ribbon, striped with all the original colours, and inclosed in a sheath of white silk, to represent the pure union of the mingled rays, and the abolition of all superficial distinctions, all colours and shades of difference, for the sake of one illustrious end. Let this Amulet of union, faith and honour, depend from the neck, and be bound about the body next to the skin and close to the heart.

This is enthusiasm.—It is so; and who that has a spark of Hibernicism in his nature, would not kindle into a flame of generous enthusiasm? Who, that has a drop of sympathy in his heart, when he looks around him, and sees how happiness is heaped up in mounds, and how misery is diffused and divided among the million, does not exclaim, Alas! for the suffering, and Oh! for the power to redress it? And who is there that has enthusiasm sufficient to make an exclamation, would not combine with others as honest as himself, to make the will live in the act, and to swear—WE WILL REDRESS IT—Who is there? Who?

The first business of the Brotherhood will be to form a transcript, or digest, of the doctrine which they mean to subscribe, to uphold, to propagate, and to reduce to practice. It is time for Ireland to look her fortune in the face, not with turbulent ostentation, but with fixed resolution to live and die Freemen.—Let then those questions be agitated and answered fully and fairly, which have been wilfully concealed from us by interested persons and parties, and which appear terrible only by being kept in the dark. Always armed with this principle, that it is the duty of the people to establish

Digitized by Google

lish their rights, this Society will carry it along with them in their course, as the Sybol did the branch of gold, to avert or to disperse, every vain fear, or every unreal terror.

What are the *means* of procuring such a Reform in the Constitution as may secure to the People their rights most effectually and most speedily?

What is the plan of Reform most suited to this country?

Can the renovation in the Constitution, which we all deem necessary, be accomplished by the *ways* of the Constitution? "The "evil," says Junius, "lies too deep to be cured by any remedy, "less than some great convulsion which may bring back the Con- "stitution to its original principles, or utterly destroy it." Is this opinion still truer when applied to *this* country, or is it false?

Who are the People?

Can the right of changing the Constitution rest any where but in the original constitutive power—the People?

Can the will of the People be known but by full and fair convention, to be constituted on the plan which will come recommended on the most popular authority?

What are the Rights of Roman Catholics, and what are the immediate duties of Protestants respecting these rights?

Are the Roman Catholics generally or partially *capaces Libertatis*? and if not, what are the speediest means of making them so?

Is the Independence of Ireland nominal or real, a barren right, or a fact regulative of national conduct and influencing national character?

Has it had any other effect than raising the value of a house, and making it more self-sufficient, at the expence of the People?

Is there any middle state between the extremes of union with Britain and total separation, in which the rights of the People can be fully established and rest in security?

What is the form of Government that will secure to us our rights with the least expence and the greatest benefit?

By the BROTHERHOOD are these questions, and such as these, to be determined. On this determination are they to form the chart of their Constitution, which with honour and good faith they are to subscribe, and which is to regulate their course.—Let the Society at large meet four times in the year, and an acting Committee once a month, to which all Members shall be invited. Let these meetings be *convivial*, but not the transitory patriotism of deep potation: *confidential*, the heart open and the door locked; *conversational*, not a debating society. There is too much haranguing in this country already: a very great redundance of sound. Would that we spoke a little more laconically, and acted a little more emphatically; and we shall do so, when our aim is at something nobler and fairer than even the Sublime and Beautiful of Mr. Burke:—the Sublimity of Common-sense—the Beauty of Common-weal.

Our Society should at first be very chaste and cautious in the selection of Members, shunning equally the giddiness of the boy, and

Digitized by Google

that sullen indifference about the public good which comes on with decline of years, looking around for those who are competent, and with respect to themselves content, yet zealous and persevering; not venal, not voracious, not confined in their manners and their morality to the pale of a profession; not idle philanthropists, who fidget round the globe with their favourite adage; not those who are bound down by obedience to that wizard word *Empire*, to the sovereignty of two sounding syllables; but honest, honourable *Irishmen*, of whatever rank, of whatever religion, who know Liberty, who love it, who wish to have it, and who will have it.—Members should be admitted only by an unanimous ballot, and perhaps once a year there should be a general re-election.

The *external* business of this Society will be, 1st. Publication, in order to propagate their principles and effectuate their ends. All papers for this purpose to be sanctioned by the Committee, and published with no other designation of character than—ONE OF THE BROTHERHOOD.—2dly, Communication with the different towns to be assiduously kept up, and every exertion used to accomplish a *National Convention* of the People of Ireland, who may profit by past errors, and by many unexpected circumstances which have happened since the last meeting.—3dly, Communication with similar Societies abroad, as the Jacobin Club in Paris, the Revolution Society in England, the Committee for Reform in Scotland. Let the nations be abreast. Let the interchange of sentiment among mankind concerning the rights of man be as immediate as possible. A correspondence with distinguished men in Britain, or on the Continent will be necessary to enlighten us, and ought to be cherished. Eulogies on such men as have deserved well of their country *until death*, should be from time to time delivered by one of the Brotherhood; their works should live in a library to be formed by this Society, and dedicated to Liberty, and the Portraits of such men should adorn it. Let the shades of the mighty dead look down and consecrate our Meetings! The Athenians were accustomed to fasten their edicts to the statues of their ancestors. Let our Laws and Liberties have a similar attachment, taking heed always to remember what has been always too much forgotten—that *We are* to be ancestors ourselves; and as our bodies moulder down after sepulture, merely to pass into new forms of life, let our spirits preserve a principle of animation to posterity, and germinate from the very grave.

What is the time most applicable for the establishment of this Institution? Even NOW. "Le grand art est dans l'apropos." Why is Administration so imperious? Because the Nation does not act. The Whig Club is not a transfusion from the People. We do not thoroughly *understand* that Club, and they do not *feel* for us. When the Aristocracy come forward, the People fall backward; when the People come forward, the Aristocracy, fearful of being left behind, insinuate themselves into our ranks, and rise into timid leaders, or treacherous auxiliaries. They mean to make us their instruments. Let us rather make them *our* instruments. One of the

Digitized by Google

the two must happen. The People must serve the purposes of Party, or the Party must emerge in the mightiness of the People, and Hercules will then lean upon his club.

On the 14th of July, the day which shall ever commemorate the French Revolution, let this Society pour out their first libation to European Liberty, eventually the Liberty of the World, and with their hands joined in each other, and their eyes raised to Heaven, in his presence who breathed into them an ever-living soul, let them swear to maintain the rights and prerogatives of their nature as men, and the right and prerogative of Ireland as an INDEPENDENT PEOPLE.—"Dieu et *mon* Droit!" is the motto of Kings.—"Dieu et la Liberté!" exclaimed Voltaire, when he first beheld Franklin, his Fellow-Citizen of the World.—"Dieu et *nos* Droits!"—let Irishmen cry aloud to each other—the cry of Mercy—of Justice—and of Victory."

"*June*, 1791."

No. V.

Fabricated Rules and Regulations of the Orange-Men.

"As an instance of the arts used to make the Orange Association an occasion of exciting in the breasts of the lower class of Catholics the most malignant and vindictive passions, the following series of fabricated rules and regulations, intended to be considered as those of the Orange-Men, are here inserted. The copy from which they are transcribed was found in the house of Marlay, in Hoey's-court, but similar copies were frequently found both on the persons and in the houses of United Irishmen."

"1st. Resolved unanimously, That each and every member be furnished with a case of horse pistols and a sword; also that every member shall have twelve rounds of ball cartridges.

"2d. Resolved, That every man shall be ready at a moment's warning.

"3d. Resolved, That no member is to introduce a Papist or Presbyterian, Quaker or Methodist, or any persuasion but a Protestant.

"4th. Resolved, That no man wear Irish manufactures, or give employment to any Papist.

"5th. Resolved, That every man shall be ready at a moment's warning to burn all the chapels and meeting-houses in the city and county of Dublin.

"6th. Resolved, That any man that will give information of any house he suspects to be an United Irishman's, will get the sum of 5*l.* and his name kept private.

"7th. Resolved, That no member will introduce any man under the age of nineteen or over the age of forty-six."

[Report of Secret Com. of Irish Parl. 1798, App. xxvi. p. ccxvi.]

*** The report that Orange-Men had taken an oath to exterminate Catholics was too gross to pass except with the lowest of the vulgar, and therefore I suppose not even inserted among these fabricated rules.

Digitized by Google

No. VI.

The Rules and Regulations of Orangemen, read before they proceed to Business.

" An Orangeman should have a sincere love and reverence for his Almighty maker, productive of those lively and happy fruits, righteousness and obedience to his commands. A firm faith in the Saviour of the world, convinced that he is the only mediator between a sinful creature and an offended creator: without these he can be no christian; he should be of an humane and compassionate disposition, and a cautious and affable behaviour; he should be an utter enemy to savage brutality, and unchristian-like cruelty. Let him be a lover of sobriety and improving company, and have a laudable regard for the Protestant religion, and a sincere desire to propagate its precepts; zealous of promoting the honour of his King and country, and have an hearty desire for victory and success, but convinced and assured that God only can grant it. Let him have an hatred for cursing and swearing, and taking the name of God in vain. A shameful practice, taking all opportunities to discourage it among his brethren; wisdom and prudence should guide his actions; honesty and integrity influence his conduct, and honour and glory be the motives of his actions; lastly, he must pay the strictest attention to a religious observance of the sabbath, and also of temperance and sobriety."

Declaration of the Protestants of Dublin, assuming the Name of Orangmen.

" From the various attempts that have been made to poison the public mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their King and Constitution, and to maintain the Laws; we the Protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of Orangemen, feel ourselves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, but chiefly to avow those principles, and declare to the world the object of our institution.

We have long observed with indignation, the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom by the seditious, who have formed themselves into Societies under the specious name of *United Irishmen*; we have seen with pain the lower-orders of our fellow subjects forced or seduced from their allegiance by the threats and machinations of traitors; and we have viewed with horror the successful exertions of *miscreants* to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of rising into consequence on the downfall of their country.

We

Digitized by Google

We therefore thought it high time to rally round the constitution, and there pledge ourselves to each other, to maintain the laws and support our good king against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or to their country; and by so doing, shew to the world that there is a body of men in this island, who are ready in the hour of danger to stand forward in defence of that grand palladium of our liberties, the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and established by our ancestors under the great King William.

Fellow subjects, we are accused of being an institution founded on principles too shocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths at which humanity would shudder, but we caution you not be led away by such malevolent falsehoods. For we do solemnly assure you in the presence of Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one on account of his religious opinions, never entered our hearts. We regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his religion what it may, we have no enmity but to the enemies of our country.

We further declare, that we are ready at all times, to submit ourselves to the orders of those in authority under his Majesty, and that we will cheerfully undertake any duty which they shall think proper to point out to us, in case either a foreign enemy shall dare to invade our coasts, or, that a domestic foe shall presume to raise the standard of rebellion in the land. To these principles we are pledged, and in support of them we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood." Published in 1797.

Declaration of the loyal Inhabitants of the Province of Ulster, stiled Orangemen.

"We the loyal inhabitants of the province of Ulster, who have been styled *Orangemen*, in remembrance of our glorious deliverer King William the Third, think it incumbent upon us at this critical period, to declare our faithful and steady attachment to his Majesty King George the Third, and to our valuable constitution in church and state, as well as our gratitude for the blessings we enjoy under the present government, and our happiness in the suppression of insurrection and rebellion: and the restoration of tranquillity in this province, by the exertions of the General Officers and Militia, aided by the zeal of the loyal inhabitants. We have read in the public papers with much satisfaction, the Declarations of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of several parishes, in this province; we have no doubt of the sincerity of such declarations, and that the Catholics of Ireland, sensible of the benefits they enjoy, will not suffer themselves to be made the dupes of wicked and designing men, for the most diabolical purposes: and we flatter ourselves, that such declarations will be embraced and have the happiest effects in other parts of the kingdom. Such conduct must be acceptable in the eyes of God and man.

Digitized by Google

We declare most solemnly, that we are not enemies to any body of people on account of their religion, their faith or their mode of worship. We consider every loyal subject our brother, and they shall have our aid and protection.

Anxious to co-operate in preserving internal tranquillity, should our foreign enemies be desperate enough to attempt it, we take this opportunity of declaring our readiness to undertake any duty in obedience to the commands of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant."

19th February, 1798.

[Signed by several thousand loyal inhabitants.]

N. B. This Declaration appeared just after General Lake had in a great measure, disarmed the disaffected inhabitants of some parts of the North of Ireland.

Rules and Regulations of the Boyne Society, commonly called Orangemen.

" 1st. We associate for the defence of our persons and properties, and for preserving the peace and good order of our country.

2d. We are exclusively a Protestant association.

3rd. That we will to the utmost of our power, defend and support his present Majesty King George the Third, the laws and constitution of this kingdom, and the successors in his Majesty's illustrious house.

4th. That we will aid and assist all magistrates, and all high and petty constables in the lawful excution of their office, when called on.

5th. That we will upon all occasions aid and assist each other, when promptitude and propriety appear to give rise to the necessity of such assistance, and that the same do not exceed the jurisdiction of the laws, or tend to promote insurrection or internal disturbance.

6th. That we are to be true to all brother Orangemen in all their just actions, neither wronging any, nor seeing or knowing them to be wronged, and as far as in our power to promote each others interest and well-fare.

7th. That we are not to give the first assault to any person whatsoever.

8th. That we are individually bound to each other, not only to preserve the peace ourselves, but also to be active in preventing all others of whatever persuasion or denomination, (who may come within our knowledge) that may have an intention to do an ill or wrong act.

9th. That we are to meet every 1st of July, (old stile) in a full body, to commemorate the signal victory gained by King William Prince of Orange, at the Boyne, who bravely supported our rights and established the Protestant religion; that on this day we are to walk wherever may be agreed on, always behaving with propriety or decorum."

Grand

Digitized by Google

Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, January 5th, 1799.

"The Grand Lodge of Ireland observe with heartfelt satisfaction that their former recommendation to their brethren to abstain, as Orangemen, from any discussion of the question of Union, has had the happiest effects, in so much, as it has disappointed the sanguine and malignant hopes entertained by the enemies of religion and good order, that such discussion would be productive of discord among Orangemen. They now feel it their duty to offer some farther observations on the present juncture of affairs.

Orangemen in different capacities as Members of Parliament, Grand-jurors, Freeholders, and Members of Corporate Bodies, will have opportunities of debating the important question of an Union. But it is the earnest entreaty of the Grand Lodge, that as *a society* they will remain silent, for as every Orangeman, however zealous, may, and no doubt will, conceive different ideas on this subject, the discussion of a question of such magnitude, involving not only great imperial topics, but also matters of local advantage and local disadvantage, must unavoidably create a division in opinion, and "an house divided against itself cannot stand." It is therefore recommended to all Orangemen, to keep in mind the great object for which they have associated, and to avoid as injurious to their institution, all controversy not connected with their principles.

The Grand Lodge most solemnly enjoin the Masters of Lodges and their brethren in general, most particularly to scrutinize the character of every candidate for admission. As they understand, with indignation, that men notoriously disaffected have of late had the audacity to offer themselves to some Lodges. It is also requested, that Masters of Lodges will discountenance by every means in their power, even by the imposition of a fine, any imitation of the manners and dress of traitors, which the Grand Lodge has heard with surprise has been of late effected by some of the younger Orangemen. They are the more anxious on this head, which may at first seem unimportant, as traitors are now busy in boasting of a coalition with our association, an opinion which this conduct in known Orangemen tends greatly to encourage.

The Grand Lodge further recommends, that this Address be read at all Lodges in Ireland."

(Signed)
Thomas Verner, Grand Master,
John C. Beresford, Grand Secretary.

"If a steady opposition to French principles and Republican theories of Government, which have deluged many nations of Europe with blood, be criminal, the Orangemen of Ireland plead guilty to the charge. If unshaken loyalty to our beloved and excellent Sovereign, be a crime, they confess their guilt. If an inviolable attachment to the Protestant religion, and a desire to secure the interest and prosperity of it, by all fit and loyal means be reproachful to them, they certainly merit that reproach. They revere our present happy constitution, and disclaiming revolutionary projects, wish it to be perpetual.

Digitized by Google

perpetual. They venerate the Protestant religion, with Protestant liberality of sentiment towards those who differ from them, and disavow every species and degree of persecution.

These and these only are the principles of Orangemen, and they are neither ashamed nor afraid to acknowledge them. They are not the visionary ephemeral productions of metaphysical subtlety, but have been long tried and approved by the sure tests of reason and experience. They are the old Whig principles, and held by us in common, with every good Protestant in these islands. They were handed down to us from our ancestors, and we hope to transmit them unperverted and unimpaired, as a precious inheritance to our posterity.—They have been the source of abundant prosperity and comfort to the land of our nativity for more than a century, and in support of them they have declared their readiness to shed the last drop of their blood. Orangemen have no secret to conceal, except the marks and tokens by which they know one another*. In times of turbulence and intestine commotion it was necessary to have certain words and signs to discriminate friends from enemies, and prevent designing traitors from mixing among us—they were necessary to inspire mutual trust and confidence, by indicating similarity of sentiment, and they are still necessary, not only to guard against imposition, but to recommend us to the attention and kindness of brother-Orangemen wherever the institution prevails. To divulge these would destroy their utility, and therefore the knowledge of them is strictly and properly confined to themselves."

[The principles of the Orange Association vindicated by the Rev. S. Cupples, D. D. Rector of Lisburn, p. 9.]

No. VII.

[The following Manifesto appeared at this period in an *Official Rebel Gazette:*]

"IRISHMEN! your country is represented by brethren of ability and virtue; they plead your cause at Lisle: they negotiate for an independent Irish Republic in the teeth of that diplomatique spy, MALMSBURY; they are countenanced and encouraged by the French Commissioners, and we have some hopes that Ireland will be seen in the political map of Europe, when her cowardly cruel step-sister is consigned to the insignificance her crimes justly merit. Should any unfortunate event put off your delivery, by England *purchasing* an immediate peace, you should not despond. Peace will be *only temporary;* it may be productive of some political comforts, as we then may openly praise and study the glorious truths France is capable of proclaiming—communication with that country will be

* The oath of the Orangemen, *which was not kept secret*, was an oath of allegiance to the King and Constitution, besides which, it contained two clauses, one that they would consider every loyal man of every religious denomination as their brother, and would protect him as such; and another, that they would not divulge the signs by which they were known to each other.

Digitized by Google

revived and liberty will gain new strength, and knowledge be more universal—consequently despotism must die, and IRISHMEN will go to the funeral."——[Union Star, No. 3.]

No. VIII.

"*Assassination*" *and* "*Resumption*" *in* 1798.

UNION STAR.

"The Union Star appeared at irregular periods, was printed on one side of the paper, to fit it for being pasted on walls, and frequently second editions were published of the same numbers. It chiefly consisted of names and abusive characters of persons supposed to have been informers against U. Irishmen: or active opposers of their designs; and to such lists were generally added the most furious exhortations to the populace to rise and take vengeance on their oppressors. Each number commenced with the following words:—

"As the Union Star is an *Official Paper*, the managers promise the public that no characters shall be hazarded but such as are denounced by *authority*, as being the partners and creatures of Pitt, and his sanguinary journeyman * Luttrell."

"The Star offers to public justice the following detestable traitors as spies and perjured informers."

"Perhaps some arm more lucky than the rest may reach his heart and free the world from bondage."

Here followed the list of the proscribed persons—a description of their persons, and every possible incitement and direction given to assassination.

Further Extracts from that detestable Paper.

"Let the indignation of man be raised against the impious wretch, who profanely assumes the title of reigning by the grace of God, and impudently tells the world he can do no wrong. Irishmen! is granting a patent and offering premiums to murderers to depopulate your country and take your properties, no wrong? Are the continual wars you engender and provoke to destroy mankind no wrong? Go impious blasphemer, and your hypocritical sorcerers (the clergy, I presume) to the fate philosophy, justice and liberty assign thee:—'tis inevitable, thy impositions are detected—thy kind have been brought to justice—the first professor of thy trade has recently bled for the crimes of the craft—his idle and vile followers, who escaped the national axe, are walking memorials of justice, begging a miserable livelihood over those countries, whose tottering thrones encourage but an uncertain asylum: ere the grave which is

* Lord Carhampton, then Commander in Chief.

opening

opening for thy despised person embosoms thee—make one atonement for the vices of thy predecessors—resist not the claims of a people reduced to every misery:—In thy name give back the *properties that thy nation wrested from a suffering people, and let the descendants of those English ruffians restore to Irishmen their country, and to their country liberty:* 'tis rather late to trifle—one fortunate breeze may do it; and then, woe be to him who was a tyrant, or who is unjust."

UNION STAR, No. IV.

IRISHMEN!

"Turn over the page of history as written by Englishmen—you will see Ireland's present sufferings; at which your nature must shudder—your just indignation awaken into wishes and exertions that must be fatal to your oppressors and glorious to yourselves. Look at what are called Acts of Parliament, the 17th year of Charles the First, confiscating three millions of asres at one sitting, and selling them to English adventurers, on the conditions of having and holding them by exterminating the antient Irish proprietor! *Remember that the lapse of years does not justify any right in your Masters to retain the property of your fathers.*—The Star does not *unjustly* advise a thought that would injure the proprietors of an estate, acquired by mercantile or mechanic industry. *The Star only aims at those properties wrested from our murdered ancestors by English perfidy.*"

UNION STAR, No. V.

"We are constantly witnessing the impudent affectation of cowardly moderation, acting in partnership with tyranny against the Union Star, which they accuse of inculcating principles of assassination. We certainly do not advise, though we do *not decry assassination*, as we conceive it the only mode at present, within the reach of Irishmen to bring to justice the royal agents, who are constantly exercising rapes, murders, and burnings, through our devoted country:

"We appeal to thy noble and venerated name—O, Brutus! who bravely assassinated the tyrant of your country amidst his cohorts, and in the presence of his pensioned senate. It is not our solitary suffrage that has attempted to honour thy name and worship thy spirit:—the patriot, the sage, and the hero, in every honourable stage of life, for eighteen centuries, have given thy name the first and most unequivocal recommendation to the admiring earth, as one that deserves the highest rank among the benefactors of the human race.

"Yes! Prince of patriotic assassins, thy noble and virtuous spirit should pervade our land—the infant whom a British, or a British-Irish butcher has left fatherless, should be taught through his progress to manhood, that thy example should be rigidly imitated, as an honest duty to his parents and his country."——"In such a son, assassination would be an holy duty, commanded by nature and approved of by Heaven.—Thus we defend assassination, and clear it from the rubbish of ignorance and the falsehoods of despotism,

Digitized by Google

tism, which were too often successful in confounding the characters of the man who destroyed a tyrant, and him, who to gratify private revenge, or urged by avarice, might sell himself to murder an innocent fellow-creature."

[The extracts from this official paper of the U. Irishmen, surely prove, that these societies inculcated the principles both of assassination and "resumption," *of the forfeited Estates*, which latter Mr. Plowden so *ingeniously* traces to the Brehon Laws, in p. 12, of his Historical Review. See also p. 14, of these Strictures: and read note † to p. 15 of this work.]

No. IX.

Examination of Dr. McNevin, before the Irish House of Lords in 1798.

Q. Have you seen a resolution of the Leinster Provincial Committee of the 19th Feb. 1798, "That they would not be diverted from their purpose by any thing which could be done in Parliament, as nothing short of the total emancipation of their country would satisfy them?

A. I have.

Q. Was it *officially* communicated by the Provincial to the Executive?

A. It was.

Q. Do you think the mass of the people in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink it contains for Parliamentary Reform, or Catholic Emancipation?

A. I am sure they do not, but they wish much to be relieved from the payment of tythes.

[Report of Secret Committee in 1798, App. xxxi. p. cclxxviii.]

THE END.

Digitized by Google

ERRATA.

Page 15, line 4, for " restraints," read *restraint.*
—— 36, third line from the bottom, for " chap. xv. Ware," read *chap.* xiii. *Ware.*
—— 46, fifth line of the note, for " thus," read *this.*
—— 47, third line, for " regin," read *reign.*
—— 49, line 15, for " is," read *are.*
—— 68, line 27, for " I do mean," read *I do not mean.*
—— 73, note †, for " Hist. Review," read *Irish Commons Journal.*
—— 80, line 21, for " Counseller," read *Counsellor.*
—— 89, line 8, for " hands," read *lands.*
—— 103, line 14, for " Nation," read *Parliament.*
—— 104, note *, for " 1802," read 1782.
—— 131, line 26, for " this work," read *his work.*
—— 160, note *, line 4, for " 1790," read 1798.
—— 168, line 21, for " these charges of cruelty," read *such acts of cruelty.*
—— 171, note *, line 9, for " Mayo, *or* Sligo," read *Mayo and Sligo.*

*** In several places the word ascendancy is, by an error of the press, printed ascendency.

Printed by C. Rickaby, Peterborough-court, Fleet-street.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

MAY 3 1 1945

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google